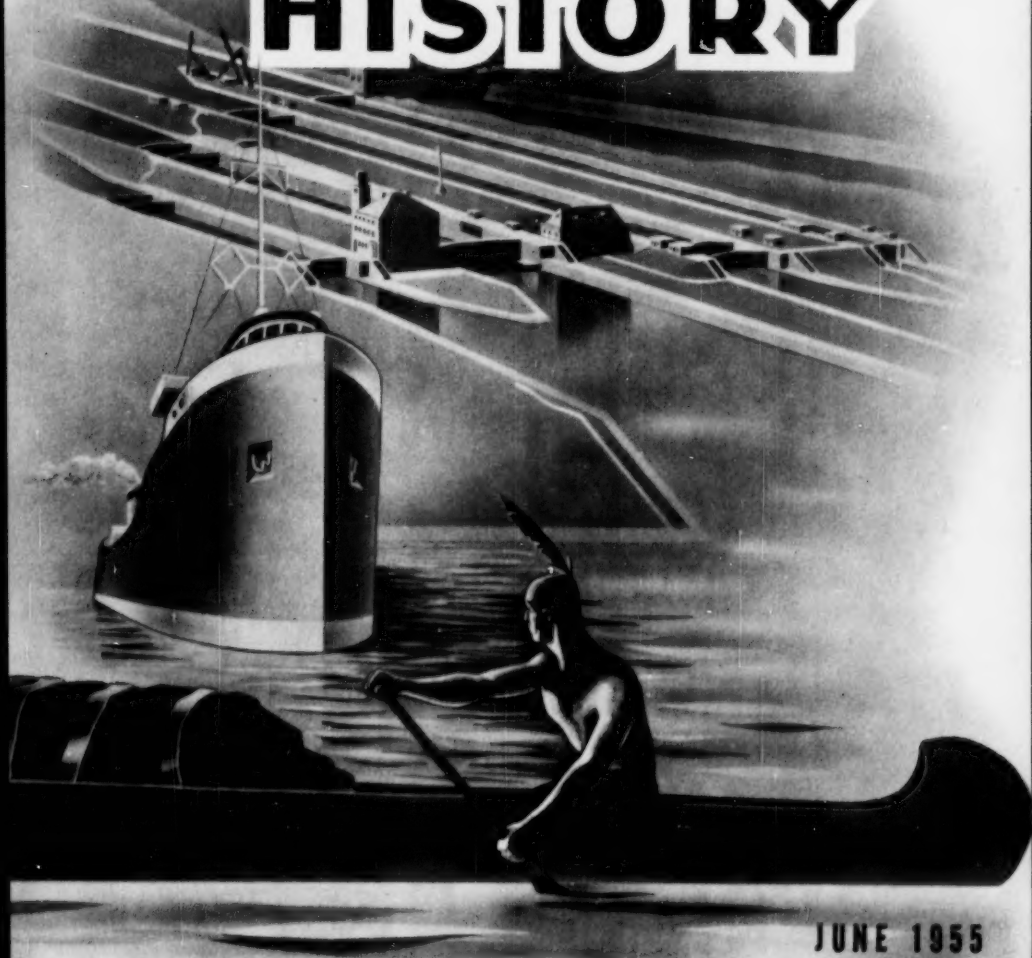


Michigan **HISTORY**



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MICHIGAN HISTORY

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Paw Paw Versus the Railroads

Thomas D. Brock

WHEN MICHIGAN BECAME A STATE IN 1837, the first legislature chartered three railroads which were to be built and operated with public funds. These were the Southern, Central, and Northern. By 1846 the Central had been constructed by the state from Detroit as far as Kalamazoo. With money about gone and a huge debt facing it, the legislature at this time voted to sell the Central and Southern to private owners. The charter under which the private owners received the Central provided that it be extended on to Lake Michigan. In the 1837 charter, the Lake Michigan terminus was to be St. Joseph. In the 1846 charter the terminus was not stated.

If the road were to go from Kalamazoo to St. Joseph, it would logically pass through the village of Paw Paw. The Michigan Central Railroad Company never built through Paw Paw. When the private owners took over, they built the Michigan Central from Kalamazoo through Niles to a Lake Michigan terminus at New Buffalo, missing Paw Paw by four miles. From New Buffalo the road was soon built on to Chicago.

There are several stories extant as to why the Michigan Central did not go through Paw Paw to St. Joseph. One is that the president of the Michigan Central, John Murray Forbes, and the superintendent, John W. Brooks, took a trip west from Kalamazoo through Paw Paw to St. Joseph after what must have been a heavy spring rain over roads which were no more than mere suggestions of trails, and they arrived back in Kalamazoo several days later in such a disgruntled state that they would not hear of putting a railroad through this area. Forbes in particular was singularly unimpressed with St. Joseph and commented: "Nothing could induce me to visit this place again . . ."¹

A second story is that the private owners, with excellent foresight, realized that if the railroad were to be a success financially it

¹Henry G. Pearson, *An American Railroad Builder, John Murray Forbes*, 33-35 (Boston and New York, 1911).

would have to go all the way to Chicago, which meant it would have to angle considerably southwest from Kalamazoo and consequently would bypass Paw Paw. To preserve the intention of the original charter, they would have to touch Lake Michigan in the state of Michigan, which they did very briefly at New Buffalo, a town with a very poor harbor as compared with St. Joseph.²

A third and possibly minor reason for not going through Paw Paw was that certain influential people didn't want a railroad through Paw Paw because they thought it would lower property values and smell up the town with smoke.³

At any rate the Michigan Central did not go through Paw Paw. When it was built west from Kalamazoo, the road went four miles south of Paw Paw. At this point the Michigan Central established a station and called it Paw Paw Station. In those days of poor or nonexistent roads and no motor transportation, being four miles off the railroad line was as good as being a hundred. This was a near disaster to Paw Paw. It was the largest village in Van Buren County and being left off the railroad threatened its existence. One can picture the frustration of the merchants of the already thriving village of Paw Paw at finding themselves off the railroad and finding Paw Paw Station established at a spot which was then little more than a woods. Paw Paw Station is the present-day Lawton.

The Michigan Central continued to build southwest through Michigan. It reached Niles in October, 1848, and Chicago in the spring of 1852. Thus a through railroad was established between Detroit and Chicago.

That being left off the railroad line was a serious event for a thriving and ambitious village in the 1850's, is evident from the following prices for flour: Detroit, \$4.75/bbl.; Niles, \$5.50/bbl.; Chicago, \$4.25/bbl.; Paw Paw, \$7.00/bbl.⁴ Obviously a connection with the Michigan Central was necessary. The first connection was a crude road, but the land between Paw Paw and Lawton is very sandy and consequently travel was slow.⁵ Later a plank road was

²Pearson, *An American Railroad Builder*, 33-35; Alvin F. Harlow, *The Road of the Century, The Story of the New York Central*, 220-21 (New York, 1947).

³The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 11, 1886.

⁴The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 24, 1857.

⁵George W. Lawton, "Historical Sketch of Van Buren County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:629 (Lansing, 1881).

built, but some difficulty was had between its manager, Isaac W. Willard, and its stockholders, and the latter obtained the repeal of its charter. This so infuriated Willard that he ripped up planks in spots along the road and built them into a fence. The other stockholders and the public were indignant but Willard held firm. The road was abandoned, the stockholders grabbing up the planks while Willard secured the toll houses for himself.⁶

In this same year, 1855, the first proposal of a railroad between Paw Paw and Lawton was made.⁷ The railroad was to run from Lawton to Paw Paw and then on to Allegan, thus giving both these towns an outlet to the Michigan Central. Some success was had in selling stock, but an insufficient amount was subscribed, and the proposal was dropped,⁸ and in the fall the newspaper was urging the construction of a gravel road as an alternative.⁹

Another organization was begun in the spring of 1857 when a group of citizens met to discuss the building of a railroad from Paw Paw to Lawton or some other point on the Michigan Central line. A survey had been made which showed that a smooth route of slight grade not over three and one-half miles long lay between Paw Paw and Lawton over which could be built a railroad with T rail at a cost of not over \$20,000. Isaac W. Willard offered to build the road at his expense and give the citizens or a company three years to pay for it, with 10 per cent interest. The local newspaper said that the railroad was the only thing that would save "this beautiful village" of two flourmills, a sawmill, machine shops, extensive lumber interests, and large mercantile interests.¹⁰ A committee of eight was appointed to secure stock subscriptions from the citizens of Paw Paw.¹¹

The Paw Paw Railroad Company was organized under the general law on April 25, 1857, with a capital of \$20,000. John K. Pugsley, Elisha J. House, Franklin M. Manning, Charles M. Morrill, Loyal Crane, Henry Ismon, and Fitz H. Stevens were named directors.¹²

⁶George W. Lawton, "Historical Sketch of Van Buren County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:635; *Paw Paw Free Press*. August 6, 1855.

⁷*Paw Paw Free Press*, March 19, 1855.

⁸*Paw Paw Free Press*, April 2, 9, 23, 1855.

⁹*Paw Paw Free Press*, October 1, 1855.

¹⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 11, 1857.

¹¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 25, 1857.

¹²*Van Buren County Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 147 (Decatur, 1869).

By May it was established that if a railroad were built connecting Paw Paw with the Michigan Central line, the Michigan Central Railroad would furnish the passenger and freight cars and the locomotive and would operate them for the Paw Paw Railroad Company. The point of intersection of this road with the Michigan Central Railroad would be left up to the Paw Paw Railroad Company to select, but an engineer from the Michigan Central Railroad would aid by making a survey.¹³

The commissioners of the Paw Paw Railroad announced on June 9, 1857, that the books were now open for stock subscriptions and would remain open at the store of A. Sherman and Company until further notice. Stockholders were requested to pay 5 per cent of the amount subscribed. The commissioners for the railroad were T. A. Granger, Alonzo Sherman, O. H. Newcomb, Sylvester Murch, and John Lyle.¹⁴ The heading for the advertisement was "Paw Paw Railroad!" The exclamation mark is indicative of the excitement which the prospect of this road brought on.

The right-of-way which was established was to run from the edge of Paw Paw to a culvert on the Michigan Central¹⁵ between Lawton and Mattawan.¹⁶ It is interesting that the commissioners did not choose to run directly to Lawton (then Paw Paw Station). Apparently they refused to recognize the little community which was beginning to build up there. The contract to build this road was let to A. H. Burdick of Coldwater on August 27, 1857. Burdick immediately advertised for workers and announced the intention of beginning construction by October 1.¹⁷ The Paw Paw Railroad graded a roadbed substantially the whole way between Paw Paw and a point midway between Lawton and Mattawan, but the managers of the Michigan Central Railroad then refused to accept a junction at this point. So much of the labor expended on this road was paid for by "store orders" that it was nicknamed the Calico Branch.¹⁸

Apparently the little money available had been used and Paw

¹³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 16, 1857.

¹⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 13, 1857.

¹⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 17, 1857.

¹⁶Oran W. Rowland, *History of Van Buren County, Michigan*, 111 (Chicago and New York, 1912).

¹⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 17, 1857.

¹⁸Lawton, "Historical Sketch of Van Buren County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:633.

Paw was left with an unacceptable roadbed and no railroad. This was probably in late 1858 or in 1859. Nothing more apparently was done at this time, and soon came the Civil War to blot out any immediate thoughts of another attempt at a Paw Paw railroad.

After the Civil War people began to think about railroads again. In the period between 1865 and 1873, 136 railroads were projected in the state of Michigan. Significantly most of them were short line roads, intended to run between two or three towns within the state. Promoters of the majority of these railroads attempted to finance construction by visiting the various villages upon a projected line, describing the advantages of a railroad through the area, and, after having the people's interest, telling them that the road could be built easily if only the village or township would issue bonds to provide for a certain percentage of the construction costs. Sometimes the promoters were people from outside the area, and sometimes they were local businessmen and merchants who stood to benefit from the railroad. At first the villagers were eager to vote aid, especially if the road were to connect with some trunk line railroad and give them an outlet to the East and South for their produce. But soon a second or third road would be projected through the village while the first one was not yet begun or not nearly finished. The villagers became wary.

The whole bubble of railroad finance burst when the Michigan Supreme Court in 1870 declared unconstitutional the Michigan railroad law permitting villages and townships to issue bonds for railroad construction.¹⁹ This decision made all the bonds issued worthless. However much of the money these bonds yielded had already been spent, and consequently the townships could not get it back.

With this background, let us look at the Paw Paw Railroad Company. This company, which had been organized before the Civil War, was reactivated in 1866, this time with the purpose of building a road from Paw Paw directly to Lawton and connecting with the Michigan Central line there. The need of the people of Paw Paw for this railroad was as great as before the war. The *Van Buren Press* said: "Every day the necessity for a railroad between Paw Paw

¹⁹*The People ex rel. The Detroit and Howell Railroad Co. v. The Township Board of Salem*, 20 Mich. 452 (1870). See also *The People on the Relation of Bay City v. The State Treasurer*, 23 Mich. 499 (1871).

and Lawton is more evident . . . Come, citizens of Paw Paw and Lawton, put your shoulders to the work and the thing is done! A short pull, and a pull together, will accomplish the work! Pitch in!"²⁰

The Paw Paw Railroad Company was reactivated by transferring all the property and franchise of the old to a new company formed by Paw Paw and Jackson residents. The articles of incorporation, filed on November 26, 1866, disclose that the capital stock was increased to \$75,000.²¹ A committee was formed to negotiate with the Michigan Central Railroad for financial aid. The Michigan Central apparently put up \$20,000, for the local newspaper announced that as soon as the election was over, some action would be had among the citizens for the construction of the railroad next spring.²² The amount invested by the Michigan Central proved to be not enough.²³ So Paw Paw Township came to the rescue and voted bonds to be turned over to the railroad for the purpose of purchasing iron for the track. These bonds were for \$36,000 and were to be paid for by an 8 per cent tax levied upon township citizens. The company was to pay the township pro rata dividends on these bonds, based on the net income of the railroad.²⁴

With this money the building of the railroad was assured, and in June, 1867, construction was begun. Construction was finished on November 9, 1867.²⁵ The gauge used was the standard gauge of four feet eight and one-half inches. The president, treasurer, and general manager of this company was Horace S. Ismon; the secretary, Henry Ismon; and the first superintendent was John Ihling.²⁶ The Ismons apparently had a tight hold on the purse strings of the railroad. John Ihling, whom we shall hear much more about later, had been railroad agent for the Michigan Central at Lawton, from which position he resigned to go into a partnership in a forwarding and commissioning business at Lawton.²⁷ Later he apparently assumed the position of superintendent of the Paw Paw Railroad as well, which position he held until late 1869 or early 1870.

²⁰Van Buren Press (Paw Paw), April 2, 1866.

²¹Van Buren County Gazetteer and Business Directory, 149.

²²Van Buren Press (Paw Paw), November 5, 1866.

²³Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872, 183 (Lansing, 1872).

²⁴The True Northerner (Paw Paw), April 9, 1875.

²⁵Van Buren County Gazetteer and Business Directory, 149.

²⁶Van Buren Press (Paw Paw), January 25, 1869.

²⁷Van Buren Press (Paw Paw), August 20, September 27, 1866.

The road was opened to the public in September, 1867.²⁸ At first the railroad ran only to the south side of the Paw Paw River at Paw Paw, but later a bridge was built and trains then ran across the river, where a depot was built.²⁹ The timetable for the railroad was fixed so that it would meet all Michigan Central passenger trains. Trains returned to Paw Paw from Lawton as soon as the Michigan Central Railroad trains departed.³⁰

This small railroad apparently served Paw Paw reasonably well in those times, although it was spoken of disparagingly as the Plug. An account of the operation of the railroad has been set down by an anonymous gentleman using the initials "R.R." in a rather lengthy article on "Railroads versus Paw Paw" from which I shall quote from time to time.³¹ Concerning the early Plug he says:

We will devote our attention to the materialized "Plug" which, like Hoover's oldest boy has "grew mighty lengthening but no deal of broad." It is now about 20 years since the whistle of the old "Vulcan," the first locomotive, was heard coming up Kalamazoo Street [in Paw Paw], and with profound regret we have to record that his melodious note is forever silenced, and, the forerunner of "round houses," "car shops" and "eating houses" at Paw Paw has been ungratefully shunted aside to rust away in ignominy. And with the Vulcan has gone, too, that dear old yellow "caboose" facetiously called the "coach," which the Vulcan used to draw, with its tender end ahead, to Lawton, in order to deliver our wives and trembling babies to the Central. Our railroad growth had not evolved into the era of turntables then, it will be remembered. But there was some compensation, however, on the return, when the Vulcan, with a preliminary snort or two, warning all careless ones to get speedily out of the way, would sweep beautifully around the curve, out of Lawton over the big hill, through the deep cut, and down along the dash over the trestle and fetch up, panting with exertion, at the cream-tinted depot that stood about where the aforetime "Calico" branch is supposed to have started. Then we would issue from the "coach," congratulate "Biglow" on the safe run and time made, and proudly reply to all dubious inquiries that we had come to Paw Paw by rail!

As for freight, any cars waiting for shipment to Paw Paw were coupled onto the passenger trains. Earnings were about evenly divided between passenger and freight traffic with the passenger revenue having a slight edge over the freight. Freight tonnage was

²⁸*Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year 1883*, 441 (Lansing, 1883).

²⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 2, 1867; June 12, 1868.

³⁰*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), January 25, 1869.

³¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 11, 1886.

predominantly lumber products and grain, with merchandise, manufactures, and provisions representing smaller portions of the total.³²

Between 1865 and 1873 Paw Paw had several other opportunities to invest in the railroad promotion schemes so current in that period. On September 8, 1865, a company was organized to build a railroad from Ridgeway, in Macomb County, to the Indiana state line in Berrien County.³³ This was the Chicago and Michigan Grand Trunk Railway Company (not to be confused with the present Grand Trunk Western which was originally the Chicago and Lake Huron Railroad and later the Chicago and Grand Trunk Railway). This line was to run through Holly and Lansing to St. Joseph and would obviously be a trunk line³⁴. Would it go through Paw Paw? Yes, it could, if Paw Paw would vote aid for it. E. Smith and Company, dry goods merchants in Paw Paw, took large advertisements urging the people to get behind it.³⁵ The directors came to Paw Paw and discussed their project. Was Paw Paw willing? Well—there was hesitation. This was no time for hesitation, cried the Paw Paw newspaper, the *True Northerner*:

The road is sure to be built somewhere in Van Buren County and within two years and if lethargy will accomplish as much as it has in some other instances, we will find that we are about four miles off the main line.³⁶

This latter was obviously a reference to the Michigan Central four miles away at Lawton. In the case of the Chicago and Michigan Grand Trunk Railroad, lethargy abounded everywhere, so the road never got built.

On May 9, 1868, the Lawton, Paw Paw and South Haven Railroad Company was formed. This railroad was to run from Paw Paw to South Haven and give Paw Paw an outlet to Lake Michigan. The directors of this railroad were local people from Lawton, Paw Paw and South Haven and included Samuel Rogers, president; D. G. Wright, secretary; A. S. Dyckman, treasurer; and George W. Lawton, G. L. Seaver, B. H. Dyckman, Jay R. Monroe, A. S. Brown,

³²Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872, 183.

³³Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872, lxiv.

³⁴The True Northerner (Paw Paw), July 7, 1865.

³⁵Van Buren Press (Paw Paw), March 12, 1866.

³⁶The True Northerner (Paw Paw), March 20, 1868.

and J. H. Nyman.³⁷ This company proceeded to survey lines over the territory between Paw Paw and South Haven³⁸ and apparently talked Paw Paw into voting aid for the road.³⁹ A road from Paw Paw to South Haven had been considered desirable by many writers to the newspaper and it was hoped it could be put through. However, apparently not enough money was collected, since the stockholders later met for the purpose of dissolving the company.⁴⁰

Then there was the Paw Paw and Lawrence Railroad Company which intended to extend the Paw Paw Railroad to Lawrence and was ready to begin construction in a few weeks in April, 1868,⁴¹ but which never even got around to filing articles of association⁴² and died aborning.

The next major railroad to consider building in this territory was the Kalamazoo and South Haven, which filed articles of association on April 15, 1869.⁴³ It also came to neighboring towns asking for grants-in-aid. This time Paw Paw refused, apparently having its eye on another project which was being considered, the Paw Paw Valley Railroad. South Haven, Bloomingdale, Geneva, and other towns voted aid to the Kalamazoo and South Haven, so it ran its line north of Paw Paw, giving South Haven and other towns an outlet to Kalamazoo. Too late Paw Paw realized its mistake, as this road proved successful and was later "gobbled up" by the Michigan Central Railroad Company,⁴⁴ which probably was behind it all the time.

The Paw Paw Valley Railroad Company was organized on October 30, 1869, to run from Schoolcraft to St. Joseph.⁴⁵ The *True Northerner* urged Paw Paw to vote aid to this company.⁴⁶ Paw Paw had already voted aid to the Lawton, Paw Paw and South Haven Railroad Company. It now tried to get out from under this obligation by asking permission of the circuit court for relief⁴⁷ so that it

³⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 24, 1868.

³⁸*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), January 11, 1869.

³⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 17, 1869.

⁴⁰*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), January 31, 1870.

⁴¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 24, 1868.

⁴²*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872*, lxi.

⁴³*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872*, lxxviii.

⁴⁴*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), October 3, 1870.

⁴⁵*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872*, lxxiv.

⁴⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 1, 1869.

⁴⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 17, 1869.

could vote aid to the Paw Paw Valley Railroad Company. The directors of the Paw Paw Valley Railroad Company were J. M. Longwell, John Ihling, E. Fisk, Franklin B. Adams, Thomas H. Stephenson, George W. Lawton, Thomas D. Ward, C. D. Stephenson, and M. Munger. All of these people were from villages along the proposed route⁴⁸ and several later became associated with the Paw Paw Railroad and its extensions. What happened to this railroad is uncertain, although it is probable that not enough township aid was obtained. It should be recalled that township aid to railroad construction was declared unconstitutional in 1870 and thus any railroad after this time had to rely on private financing. Private capital was patently harder to obtain. Thus the Paw Paw Valley Railroad never was constructed.

There were many other railroads proposed in southwestern Michigan. Most of these never got beyond the planning stage. With public funds cut off, the rush of new organizations fell off and dropped to a trickle with the panic of 1873. Never again were so many railroads planned in Michigan as in this period between the end of the Civil War and the panic.

During all this time, what of the Plug? Its trains continued on their appointed rounds, the engine chugging as it backed them into Lawton, meeting all the trains of the Michigan Central, hauling produce to market and travelers to connections with Kalamazoo, Detroit, and Chicago. The railroad apparently was doing a good business. In 1870 the passenger travel was making a lively hotel business for the Clifton House in Paw Paw, which was providing free omnibus service from its doors to the depot.⁴⁹ On the Fourth of July a thousand people went over the Paw Paw Railroad to Lawton and hence on to other points. This was "a pretty fair day's work for the 'Plug'".⁵⁰ C. D. Stephenson was superintendent now, Lewis Bigelow was engineer, and Samuel Munger was conductor.⁵¹ The Paw Paw Railroad Company was making money, yes, but what was happening to it? Our anonymous correspondent, R. R., wrote:

We saw the "material" grow old, the fences, ties, trestles, etc., getting the worse for age, and the Vulcan becoming more wheezy and leaky. . . . There were no dividends to the stockholders of the road. . . . In very

⁴⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 29, 1869.

⁴⁹*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), January 31, 1870.

⁵⁰*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), July 11, 1870.

⁵¹*Van Buren Press* (Paw Paw), September 6, 1869.

truth it seemed that the evolution was backwards and that before the guaranteed 20 years had run, Paw Paw would be back to stage coach times. The unwise failure to extent the "Plug" to South Haven had made an opening for the line from Kalamazoo . . . which took away so much of the business from the northern towns that the earnings of the "Plug" fell below legitimate expenses. Not only that, but the money due to the Central remained unpaid . . . the Central demanded that its claim should be paid and in default thereof took up the "frog" [the connection from the tracks of the Paw Paw Railroad to those of the Michigan Central Railroad] at Lawton and cut off all communications with its lines. Freight had to be carted or backed over to the sole freight car of the "Plug." . . . the days of the usefulness of the "Plug" seemed about numbered.⁵²

In 1875 the Paw Paw Township board, knowing that large sums of money had been made by the road, and having received no payment on its bonds, resolved that the township supervisor be authorized to investigate the company's affairs.⁵³ The financial affairs of the Paw Paw Railroad Company are a little vague since the act requiring the reporting of complete financial statements to the Michigan Railroad Commission was not passed until 1872, leaving the years before this in the dark. Even after the enactment of the 1872 law, the financial status of the Paw Paw Railroad Company is obscure. In 1872 the company declared that it could not give a detailed statement to the Michigan Railroad Commission "because the books and papers have been lost or stolen and have not been found." This occurred while C. D. Stephenson was superintendent. The company reported in a statement signed by Horace S. Ismon that the railroad was again under the supervision of John Ihling and expressed the hope that it would "be able to comply with the law hereafter."⁵⁴ In 1874 Franklin M. Manning replaced Ihling as superintendent,⁵⁵ but Ihling was back again in 1875.⁵⁶

Our anonymous correspondent said that in 1875 the alternative to a complete shutdown of the railroad was to buy out Horace S. Ismon, so "a free hand was reached for and 'John' [Ihling] came

⁵²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 11, 1886.

⁵³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 9, 1875.

⁵⁴*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872, 186.*

⁵⁵*Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1874, 203* (Lansing, 1875).

⁵⁶*Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1875, 412* (Lansing, 1876).

to the front. Ismon was bought off, the Central was paid off, the frog was put back, and the 'Plug' began to pant."⁵⁷

The *True Northerner* reported that a company was formed to buy out Ismon.

In a conference one day this week, the views of Mr. Ismon were so much above those of the company, that nothing was accomplished. However, at the solicitation of Mr. Ismon, the company made him an offer, which if he accepts soon, they will abide by, but will not pay any larger figure.⁵⁸

Apparently the offer was accepted, because two weeks later, the *True Northerner* reported the purchase of the railroad by a group of business men from Lawton and Paw Paw. The stockholders were Emory O. Briggs, Charles A. Harrison, Albert Jackson, George W. Longwell, Alonzo Sherman, Free and Martin (partners in a hardware store in Paw Paw), A. Van Auken and Company, John Ihling, Franklin M. Manning, Edwin Martin, Franklin B. Adams, J. C. Ford, Henry Ford, George W. Lawton, N. B. McKinney, John Lyle, and William Lyle.⁵⁹ The directors were Edwin Martin, president; J. C. Ford, secretary; Charles A. Harrison, treasurer; and John Ihling, superintendent.⁶⁰ A few weeks later the mail contract, which had been canceled under Ismon's rule, was restored.⁶¹

Behind all this may be seen the hand of John Ihling, who was undoubtedly the man responsible for the formation of the new company. Whether there were any illegal doings on the part of Horace S. Ismon or C. D. Stephenson is uncertain, since no court proceedings have been reported. It is possible that they were paying themselves more out of the company's earnings than was their due. At any rate after their retirement from the company, the Paw Paw Railroad fell into the hands of a group of respected and influential business men. It was now necessary to make the railroad pay its way. This, as the newspapers repeated over and over, could be done only by extending the road to South Haven on the west and to Schoolcraft or Vicksburg on the southeast, where it would connect with the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad. This, it was said, would set the road up in competition with the Michigan Central and thus

⁵⁷The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 11, 1886.

⁵⁸The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 11, 1875.

⁵⁹The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 25, 1875.

⁶⁰The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 6, 1875.

⁶¹The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 13, 1875.

lower rates. This extension makes the next, and largest portion of our story.

It may be well to stop for a minute to consider an important physical factor of a railroad, the distance between the rails, or gauge. In the early days of railroad building, this was not an important thing. Railroads were short affairs, usually isolated from each other. Various gauges were used by different railroads, the exact gauge being determined mostly by the whim of the railroad builder. Later, railroads began to lengthen and connect with each other. Then the problem of interchange became important. A box car loaded with freight on a six-foot gauge could not be run directly onto a railroad using a four-foot, ten-inch gauge. Either the freight had to be unloaded from one box car and loaded into another of proper gauge, or the box car had to be jacked up and wheels of the proper gauge slid under it. Either operation was laborious and time consuming.

By 1870 a standard gauge of four feet, eight and one-half inches had been developed. This gauge was chosen as standard for a variety of reasons, one being that this was the gauge selected by the government for the first transcontinental railroad, the Union Pacific-Central Pacific. However, no sooner was this standard gauge selected than a movement began to institute on certain proposed railroads a narrow gauge of three feet. The arguments in favor of the narrow gauge were many, among them being that construction costs would be lower; smaller, lighter, and hence cheaper rolling stock would be possible; and construction would be feasible in mountainous terrain, where standard gauge was impractical because of the size of the cars and the impracticability of building the roadbed with smooth enough curves. Narrow gauge was highly touted for small towns and villages as a means of connecting them with trunk lines at a reasonable cost.⁶²

The narrow gauge also had much opposition on the grounds that the reduction in cost was not sufficient to warrant establishing another gauge which would only reopen the recently solved problem of interchange. For a while the controversy over narrow gauge ran high with arguments becoming as much emotional as studied and scientific. The main arguments for narrow gauge were expressed by

⁶²See Howard Fleming, *Narrow Gauge Railways in America* (New York, 1876).

Howard Fleming in his book, *Narrow Gauge Railways in America*; against narrow gauge were such forces as the *Railroad Gazette*.

The first railroad in the United States to use a gauge less than four feet, eight and one-half inches was the Hecla and Torch Lake Railroad in Michigan's Upper Peninsula in 1868. Its gauge was four feet, one inch. The first three-foot gauge railroad built in the United States was the Denver and Rio Grande, built in 1872. When this proved to be a success, and presumably cheaper, the three-foot gauge fever caught the country, and every village which was off the trunk lines visualized itself being served by a three-foot gauge railroad. In Michigan an added advantage was that stock of only \$4,000 per mile of road was necessary on any road with a gauge less than three feet six inches. On wider gauges \$8,000 stock per mile of road was required.⁶³ Thus it would be easier to organize a narrow-gauge road.

Everyone had agreed that if the Paw Paw Railroad Company were to be successful, its line must be extended west to Lake Michigan and southeast to a connection with a trunk line competing with the Michigan Central Railroad.

In August, 1875, a meeting was held to discuss extending the Paw Paw Railroad from Paw Paw to Lawrence with a narrow-gauge road.⁶⁴ This is the first notice that the narrow-gauge fever had spread into the Paw Paw area. At a later meeting committees from the towns of Lawton, Paw Paw, and Lawrence met for further discussion of the extension. No mention was made at this meeting of contemplated narrow-gauge construction. A committee, consisting of George A. Cross, Lawrence; John Knowles, Paw Paw; and Harvey Smith, Lawton, was appointed to prepare articles of association for this proposed extension.⁶⁵

About this time outside people also took an interest in a railroad through Paw Paw, because in December, 1875, a meeting was held at the courthouse in Paw Paw to discuss building a narrow-gauge line from Toledo to South Haven. Talks were made by T. M. Cook, Toledo; E. O. Briggs, Paw Paw; Samuel Hoppin, Bangor; James Bull, Detroit; John Knowles, Alonzo Sherman, Edwin Martin, K. W.

⁶³Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending December 31, 1872, 274.

⁶⁴The True Northerner (Paw Paw), August 25, 1875.

⁶⁵The True Northerner (Paw Paw), September 3, 1875.

Noyes, and others of Paw Paw.⁶⁶ Cook and Knowles described the route, which was reported by the *Railroad Gazette* to be from Toledo to Morenci, Michigan, then through Fremont, Orland, and Lima (Howe), Indiana, to White Pigeon, Michigan, then north by west to Lawton, then over the Paw Paw Railroad to Paw Paw, then north-west to South Haven. The *Railroad Gazette* commented: "The road would be about 170 miles long and would run through country already well provided with railroads."⁶⁷

Whether to build this road as standard or narrow gauge presented a problem, since, if standard gauge were used, interchange would not be restricted and the road would not have to furnish its own rolling stock. On the other hand "narrow gauge has its own perculiar merits."⁶⁸ Either way the people along the right-of-way would have to prepare the roadbed, and equipment would be obtained by mortgaging the roadbed or by issuing bonds.

It appears that a new method of financing a railroad was hit upon by the promoters of this road. Instead of establishing a company to build a road the whole contemplated distance and trying to obtain aid from private sources along the right-of-way, a plan was devised whereby various divisions of the road would be formed in the various sections of the country to be traversed, which would be controlled and financed by residents of that section, who would build their part of the road. Then the various divisions would be connected as they were built until the road was complete. Possibly this plan was chosen since people had become wary of giving their money to comparative strangers who were promoting a railroad and then never seeing the railroad built. By the present method the control and construction would be in the hands of people the prospective stockholders knew well.

On February 2, 1876, the Bangor and South Haven Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad Company filed articles of association with the secretary of state. The road was to be eleven miles long. Capital stock was \$44,000 with \$2,200 already paid in. The directors were Alvin Chapman, Arlington; J. H. Nyman, Bangor; S. A. Tripp, William H. Hurlbut, C. J. Mon-

⁶⁶The True Northerner (Paw Paw), December 24, 1875.

⁶⁷Railroad Gazette (New York), January 8, 1876.

⁶⁸The True Northerner (Paw Paw), December 24, 1875.

roe, A. S. Dyckman, Samuel Rogers, and Uziah Conger, South Haven; and Silas R. Boardman, Chicago.⁶⁹

On April 21, 1876, the Van Buren Division was formed. Its termini were to be Lawton and Bangor. Its directors were Franklin B. Adams, John Ihling and J. C. Ford, Lawton; Edwin Martin, John W. Free, Lorenzo C. Hurd, and Joshua R. Bangs, Paw Paw; and J. B. Johnson and R. Tillow, Lawrence. Its officers were Franklin B. Adams, president; John W. Free, vice president; J. C. Ford, secretary; Edwin Martin, treasurer and John Ihling, superintendent. It proposed to use the old Paw Paw Railroad from Paw Paw to Lawton.⁷⁰

It is easy to form companies but hard to build railroads. The year 1876 passed and it was not until the spring of 1877 that engineers began surveying a route between Paw Paw and Lawrence on the Van Buren Division.⁷¹ The work of grading finally began. Twelve carloads of iron arrived in Paw Paw for the Lawrence line in June.⁷² A week later the locomotive, two platform cars, and two hand cars arrived.⁷³ The engine was named Lawrence. Grading and track laying were progressing very satisfactorily and it was thought that cars would be run to Lawrence in about two months. However, even before the road was completed this far, the company had found a source of revenue. Excursions were being run on Sundays to Four Mile Lake (Lake Cora) for such things as firemen's and Sunday school picnics with a round trip fare of ten cents.⁷⁴

In 1877 workers on the big eastern railroads quit work in protest against a 10 per cent pay cut they had received. This big strike even affected the building of the narrow-gauge railroad in Van Buren County to some extent, since a number of men stopped work. But the majority refused to strike and continued to work even when a riot was organized to compel them to strike. The riot was unsuccessful.⁷⁵ After all, they were building their own railroad.

⁶⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), February 24, 1876.

⁷⁰*Railroad Gazette* (New York), May 12, 1876.

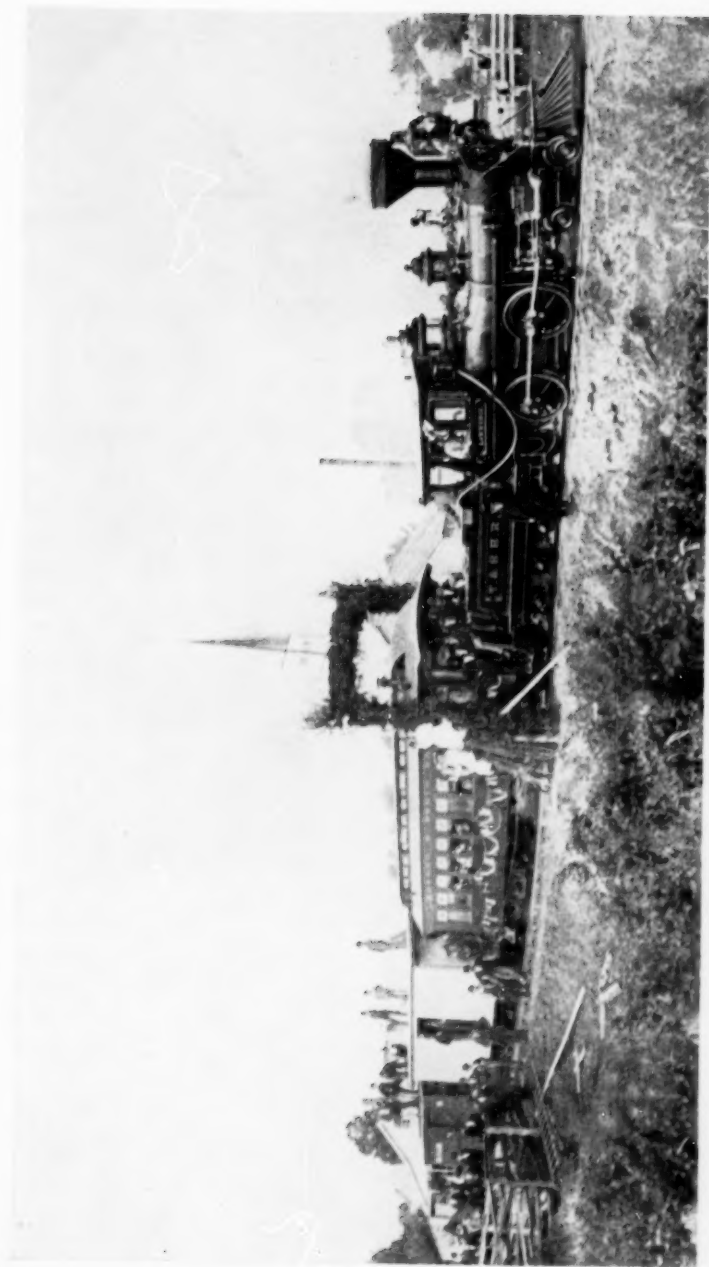
⁷¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 20, 1877.

⁷²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 29, 1877.

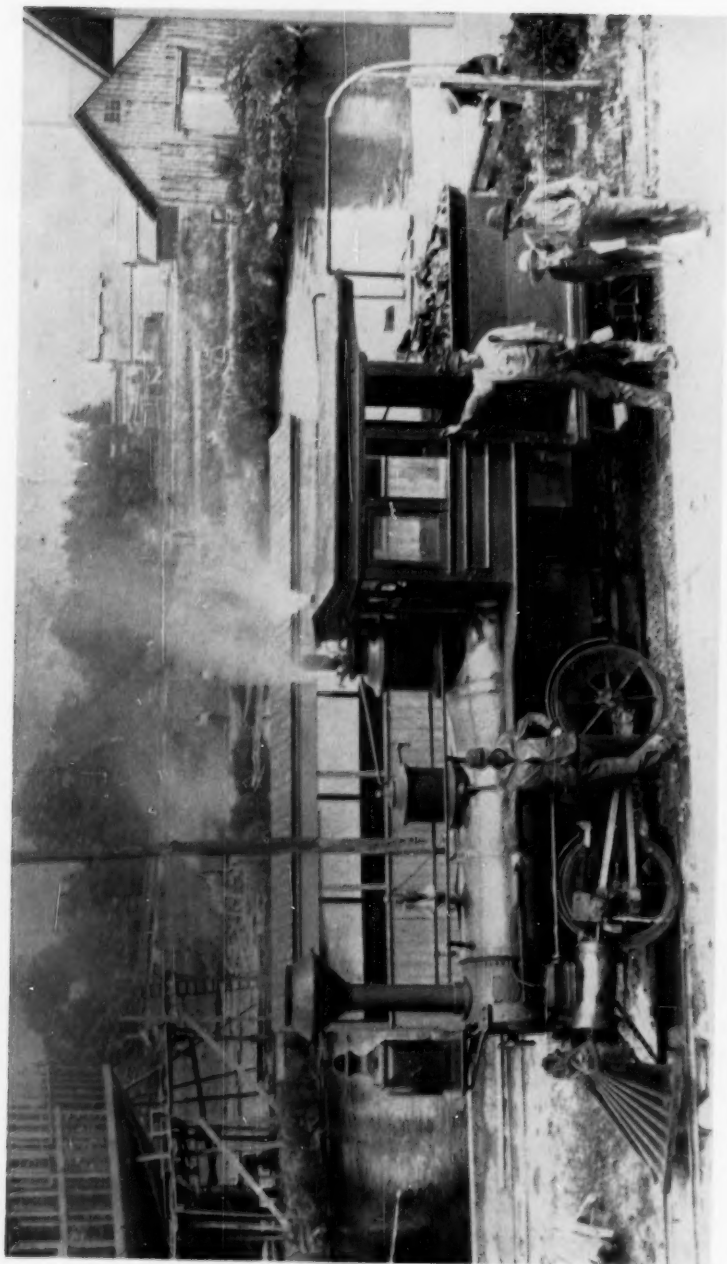
⁷³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 6, 1877.

⁷⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 27, August 17, September 28, 1877.

⁷⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 27, 1877.



TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LAWRENCE, OCTOBER, 1877



PONY ENGINE 1892

The road was completed from Paw Paw to Lawrence in the late summer. The company had perfected arrangements to lay a third rail on the old Paw Paw Railroad from Paw Paw to Lawton so as to accommodate the narrow-gauge trains all the way from Lawrence to Lawton. The third rail apparently was never laid, as we shall see.⁷⁶

According to the *True Northerner*

the day for formally celebrating the opening of the Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Railroad has been set for Tuesday, October 2d. There will be delegations from Toledo, Kalamazoo, Centreville, Bangor and South Haven. A picnic at Four Mile Lake [Lake Cora] is also on the programme. Most of our citizens will doubtless take part.⁷⁷

The actual construction was completed September 15, 1877.⁷⁸ On October 1, 1877, the new coach and boxcar arrived and made their first trip over the road to Lawrence. A baggage car was expected in a few days.⁷⁹ This apparently completed the rolling stock.

The celebration mentioned above doubtless took place, but an event such as this called for more than one celebration. Others were had on October 10 and October 12, 1877. At the latter J. H. Prater was on hand to take pictures of the train before it left Paw Paw and upon its arrival at Lawrence.⁸⁰

Our anonymous correspondent said: "The road moved westward with the 'Star of Empire.'"

The physical characteristics of this road, as reported by the *Railroad Gazette*, were as follows: rail, thirty pounds per yard; ties five by seven inches; steepest grade, 125 feet per mile; shortest radius of curvature, six hundred feet; gauge, three feet.⁸¹

The gauge of three feet was undoubtedly chosen because it was hoped it would be inexpensive to build. It proved a problem rather early. It should be remembered that the Paw Paw Railroad was standard gauge of four feet eight and one-half inches. It should also be remembered that the old Vulcan was wearing out, and the yellow caboose becoming creaky. The officers of the Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad

⁷⁶*Railroad Gazette* (New York), July 31, 1877.

⁷⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 14, 1877.

⁷⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 21, 1877.

⁷⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 5, 1877.

⁸⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 19, 1877.

⁸¹*Railroad Gazette* (New York), December 12, 1877.

Company had intended to lay a third rail from Paw Paw to Lawton so as to allow the narrow-gauge cars to run from Lawrence to Lawton. But apparently the money for the four miles of extra iron was not forthcoming. It should also be remembered that the Paw Paw Railroad Company and the Van Buren Division, although having the same president, E. Martin, and superintendent, John Ihling, had different directors and stockholders and had separate existences although the Paw Paw Railroad was leased by the Van Buren Division. But here was the Van Buren Division with a new engine and new cars of three-foot gauge, and here was the old wheezy Vulcan and the rattling caboose of standard gauge. What should be done? The solution seemed to be to make the Paw Paw Railroad narrow gauge. And this John Ihling set out to do.

How Ihling accomplished the transfer from standard to narrow gauge is described by the *True Northerner*:

Last Sunday the track of the Paw Paw Railroad was made narrow gauge to fit the rolling stock of the narrow-gauge railroad. By this act the connection with the Michigan Central, for which the people of this township paid \$36,000 was broken. The People have rights in this matter that ought to be regarded. An injunction was issued to restrain the change, but it could not be served on Mr. Ihling, the lessee of the Paw Paw Railroad, for the reason that he was suddenly called from home to visit friends at Jackson, or some other place, and at the present writing has not returned. We shall have more to say on this matter at another time.⁸²

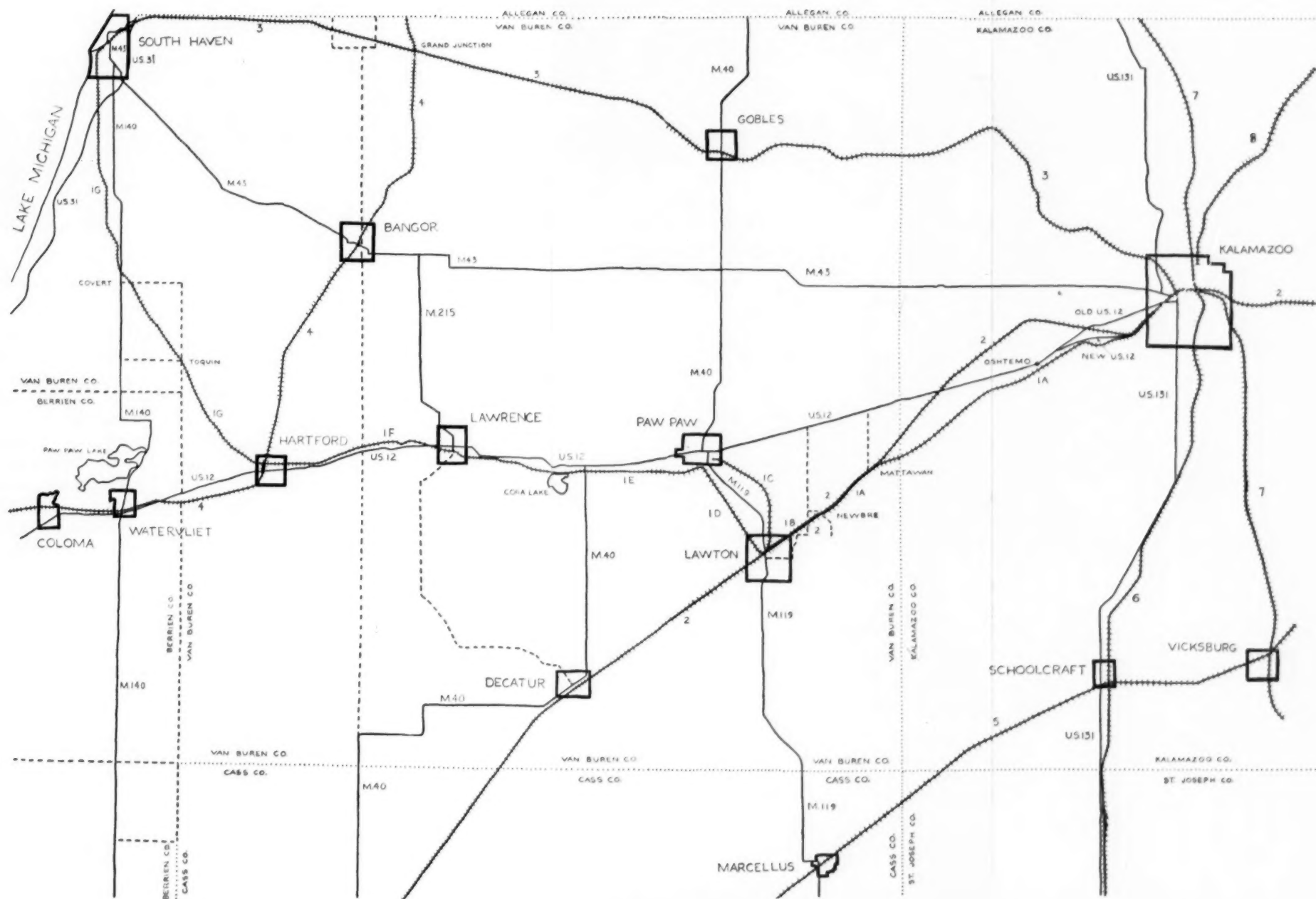
According to another account, the change to narrow gauge was secretly planned for a Sunday, since an injunction could not be obtained then. The change was all completed on Sunday, and the next day the Paw Paw Railroad interests who protested the change were forced to acquiesce. When the change was finished, the standard gauge Vulcan and caboose were run off on a side track.⁸³

Concerning the change our anonymous correspondent, R. R., has this to say:

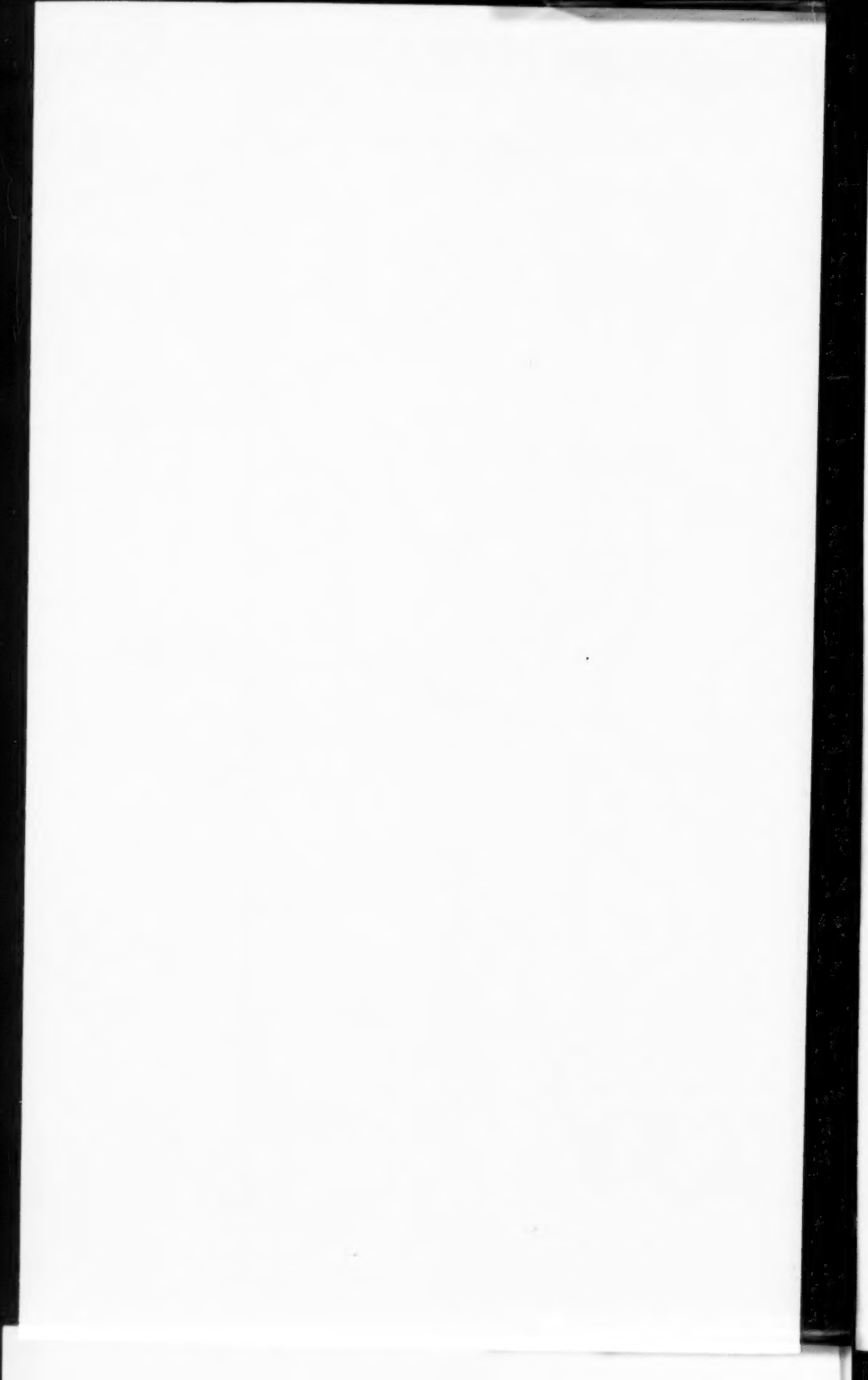
While there were certain ones lively in their opposition to the extension to Lawrence and to the change from the standard to narrow gauge construction, and their opposition cost money and made trouble, let us now, in our success, overlook it all, trusting they have grown to a better

⁸²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), November 30, 1877.

⁸³Kalamazoo Gazette, April 12, 1942.



PAW PAW AND THE RAILROADS



mind, promising them that when they strike out for passes on the spiritual railroad they shall have the old yellow caboose for their coffin, and the old Vulcan for their monument, and that they may lie and dream, undisturbed by furtive suits, injunctions, prohibitions, and all other disturbing processes, until the trumpet of doom shall sound.

Meanwhile, let those who still fire vernacular things at "John" rightly consider what would have been the railroad situation without him or someone not yet discovered who would fill his place. Evidently he was the right man in the right place at the right time to save the nodding "Plug" from the sleep that knows no waking.⁸⁴

The total construction cost for the five miles from Paw Paw to Lawrence was \$44,435.35 or \$4,925.04 per mile.⁸⁵ The rolling stock consisted of one locomotive weighing between twenty and thirty tons, one eight-wheeled passenger car, one express and baggage car, two box cars, and three platform cars. The passenger cars were equipped with hand brakes. The road had no mail contract in 1878.⁸⁶ In 1880 another locomotive of ten to twenty tons was added.⁸⁷

The Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad was the first narrow-gauge railroad constructed in the Lower Peninsula and the first in Michigan, except for private logging and ore roads, to rely exclusively on local traffic for its business. The Michigan Railroad Commission reported in 1878 that its future would be looked forward to with no little interest.⁸⁸ Apparently this narrow-gauge novelty attracted statewide interest since the *True Northerner* reported an item taken from the *Detroit News* which said:

When the engine of the Paw Paw narrow gauge railroad jumps from the track, the engineer calls one of the firemen to his aid and a moment later they have the little thing back on the track before the passengers find out what is the matter.⁸⁹

We know little about the operation of the Van Buren Division. No timetables were published in the local newspaper at this time,

⁸⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 11, 1886.

⁸⁵*Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1879*, 380, (Lansing, 1880).

⁸⁶*Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1878*, 420, (Lansing, 1879).

⁸⁷*Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1880*, 412, (Lansing, 1881).

⁸⁸*Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1878*, 420.

⁸⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 21, 1877, quoting the *Detroit News*.

as had been the case before with the Paw Paw Railroad. However the *Official Guide* of December, 1880, indicates that there were two trains a day from Lawton to Lawrence, and four trains a day from Paw Paw to Lawton.⁹⁰

The Van Buren Division spent over \$44,000 for the construction of the nine miles of track from Lawrence to Lawton. Apparently this was all the company felt it could spend on construction at the present. It probably figured it would rely on the profits of operation to provide funds for further building. But alas, the amount of traffic over the nine miles was barely enough to pay the \$1,200 a year interest on the bonds. The Paw Paw to Lawton line was still under the jurisdiction and financial direction of a separate company. This section formed the connection with the Michigan Central Railroad which the Van Buren Division had to have to survive. The Paw Paw Railroad was actually operating at a loss in the years 1880-82 although it would have shown a profit except for the \$3,000 to \$4,000 yearly rentals for equipment it was paying the Van Buren Division. Over 80 per cent of the freight tonnage carried in these years by the Van Buren Division was in the three categories of grain, coal, and miscellaneous merchandise. Earnings were about evenly divided between passengers and freight.⁹¹

It should be recalled that the first division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad Company to be formed was the Bangor and South Haven Division. Apparently no construction was ever carried out on this division, the probable reason being that no money was forthcoming. Only 5 per cent of the stock was paid in at the time of filing the articles of association and apparently interest in this railroad waned. It should be noted that the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Company had built through Bangor, connecting this town with Grand Rapids on the north and with the Michigan Central at New Buffalo on the south. Another railroad, narrow gauge at that, probably offered little interest to this city.

⁹⁰Rand McNally *Official Railroad Guide and Handbook*, 308 (Chicago, 1880).

⁹¹*Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1880*, 347; *Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year Ending December 31, 1881*, 390 (Lansing, 1882); *Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1883*, 438.

With Bangor out of the picture, the Van Buren Division, which had built to Lawrence and wanted to continue westward, apparently decided to forgo Bangor and build to Hartford, a town also on the Chicago and Western Michigan Railroad and a trifle closer to Lawrence. On August 5, 1872, the articles of association of the Van Buren Division were amended so that the road could run to Hartford.⁹² Over two thirds of the shares of the Van Buren Division stock were held at this time by the following men: Franklin B. Adams, 306 shares; John Ihling, 306; Edwin Martin, 153; J. W. Free, 153; Henry Ford, 24; and George W. Lawton, 24.

The altered Van Buren Division borrowed \$20,000 from Paw Paw banks at 8 per cent interest, as second mortgage bonds due in 1888, and the railroad was extended to Hartford. Another locomotive, two more boxcars, three platform cars, and another baggage car were purchased. At Hartford a wye was constructed so that trains came into the depot on the wye and backed up on the Chicago and Western Michigan Railroad tracks to be set for the return trip to Paw Paw.⁹³ The value of the extension to Hartford was placed at \$33,891.29, and the equipment, at \$7,961.34. The road was opened to the public from Lawrence to Hartford on March 8, 1883.⁹⁴

The track had apparently been laid late in the fall of 1882, but the final grading had not been finished until the following spring. Apparently the unfinished state of the railroad during the winter had caused some comment, for the *True Northerner* of Paw Paw reprinted an article from the *Hartford Advance* which sarcastically stated that "trains on the Toledo, Paw Paw and South Haven Railroad [sic] will leave Hartford at 4:00 P.M. in the fall and arrive at Hartford at 3:45 P.M. in the spring." The *True Northerner* wondered: "isn't it a little unfair to keep prodding the Hartford folks, just because an unfinished railroad was unable to run all winter through snow and ice, especially since trains now run regularly over the road, twice each day?"⁹⁵

With the completion of the Hartford extension the net income of the Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow

⁹²Van Buren County Clerk records, book 2, page 72.

⁹³The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 16, 1883.

⁹⁴*Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1883*, 540.

⁹⁵The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 30, 1883.

Gauge Railroad Company took a jump from around \$2,500 to nearly \$7,000 and continued to grow for a while. The average freight and passenger haul increased, giving a larger return per train run. In these years lumber and forest products provided a large percentage of the freight tonnage hauled, and probably account for the six platform cars the railroad owned.⁹⁶ Everyone was pleased with the extension to Hartford because it seemed it would put the railroad on a paying basis and thus speed up the construction to South Haven. The total funded debt was now \$35,000 with the interest on this amounting to \$2,888.⁹⁷ This apparently was not excessive.

The extension of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad southeast to the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad and eventually to Toledo had not yet been begun. On March 16, 1883, the St. Joseph Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad Company was formed.⁹⁸ Its route was to be from Lawton through Leesburg and Centreville to Nottawa on the Grand Rapids and Indiana for a distance of thirty miles.⁹⁹ Capital stock was \$250,000.¹⁰⁰ According to the *True Northerner* an enthusiastic meeting was held at Centreville. "All that is needed to secure this, the most desirable railroad in the County, is a united effort of all who will be benefited by it."¹⁰¹ Officers elected were: J. F. Wolf, Centreville, president; Edwin Martin, Paw Paw, treasurer; L. A. Clapp, Centreville, secretary; and John Ihling, Lawton, superintendent. For a while this line was listed on the various maps either as proposed or in actual operation. Not a mile of track was built, and the division stole quietly away in the night.

The Bangor and South Haven Division had been organized in 1876 to carry the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad on to Lake Michigan. When it failed to construct a line, the Van Buren Division pushed on to Hartford. From there it was

⁹⁶*Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1883*, 542.

⁹⁷*Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1884*, 553 (Lansing, 1884).

⁹⁸*Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1883*, xxxvi.

⁹⁹*Railroad Gazette* (New York), March 23, 1883.

¹⁰⁰*Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1883*, xxxvi.

¹⁰¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 16, 1883.

hoped an extension would be made to South Haven. To Paw Paw this extension would serve a dual function. It would connect South Haven with Paw Paw, the county seat, and consequently bring many more merchants and farmers into Paw Paw to spend money; and it would give Paw Paw an outlet to the lake. In those days lake travel between South Haven and Chicago was extensive, and thus Paw Paw would have a third route, in addition to the Michigan Central Railroad and the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad, over which to ship produce to the Chicago market. To South Haven the narrow-gauge extension would tap the expanding fruit industry and pour dollars into South Haven coffers from shippers, and from excursionists who would come to see the lake view.

On November 25, 1884, the Lake Michigan Division of the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company was formed. Its termini were South Haven and Hartford; its length, sixteen miles; its capital stock, \$64,000.¹⁰² Alfred S. Packard of Covert was president, and A. S. Dyckman of South Haven was secretary and treasurer. A plan was adopted by which the capitalists along the route could hold their investments in their own hands, apparently to keep them out of the hands of Ihling and company.

Packard immediately put a large gang to work in Covert Township. It was reported that

work will be begun on the South Haven end of the line as soon as the surveying is completed. The present purpose is to construct the road and then determine whether it shall be run independently or consolidated with the road beyond.¹⁰³

Later it was noted that "the Narrow Gauge is being pushed forward with a vim which reflects credit upon the gentlemen in charge"¹⁰⁴ with two thirds of the track in Covert Township cleared, stumped, and graded and one half of the line in South Haven Township completed. Forty men were at work and by the end of the week the line was expected to be fully graded from South Haven to Covert. Contracts for several thousand ties were let and more were wanted.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1885*, 537 (Lansing, 1885).

¹⁰³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), November 20, 1884, quoting the *South Haven Messenger*.

¹⁰⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 18, 1884.

¹⁰⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 18, 1884, quoting the *South Haven Messenger*.

It is interesting to note that the mere prospect of a railroad was sufficient to cause the formation of a village. The *True Northerner* noted in December, 1884, that

Van Buren County has a new village, Maplegrove, situated on the line of the Lake Michigan Division of the T & S H where it crosses the town line between Bangor and Covert. It will be but a few months before the inhabitants will rejoice to the whistle of the iron horse, a sound that is music to the ears of industry and prosperity.¹⁰⁶

This is probably the present Toquin.

Apparently the enthusiasm with which the Lake Michigan Division extension of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad was begun did not continue, or else money was scarce, for the construction of the road lagged during 1885. So the narrow-gauge trains continued to run back and forth between Hartford and Lawton, and Paw Paw did not receive an outlet to Lake Michigan. However, on May 20, 1886, the *True Northerner* noticed that arrangements had nearly been completed for the South Haven extension, and for placing a third rail (standard gauge) between Lawton and Paw Paw in order to renew the connection with the Michigan Central. "After this, it will be just a question of time when the road will be extended south to the Grand Trunk. This southern connection is the only feasible scheme for Paw Paw to obtain railroad competition," the newspaper stated.¹⁰⁷

By August, 1886, it was reported that Lucius Clark of South Bend, later an electric railway figure, was ready to lay the iron and operate the South Haven extension as soon as the construction was completed. A. S. Dyckman, the secretary and treasurer of the Lake Michigan Division, stated that South Haven and Covert were ready to take care of their end.¹⁰⁸ This would leave a gap of four miles between the village of Hartford and the line between Covert and Hartford townships to fill in. The feeling was that if the South Haven extension were completed, the company would earn enough money to be able easily to extend the road southeast of Lawton to the Grand Trunk Western.

On September 11, 1886, the Paw Paw Railroad Company and the Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge

¹⁰⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 18, 1884.

¹⁰⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 20, 1886.

¹⁰⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 5, 1886.

Railroad Company were consolidated through the sale of the former to the latter, and the Van Buren Division changed its articles of incorporation to make its name the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company with termini at Lawton and South Haven, and a capital stock of \$250,000. At the same time this company purchased the Lake Michigan Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad Company at a cost of \$126,300.¹⁰⁹ It was said that the consolidation into one company would do "away with the extra passenger rates by reason of the short lines."¹¹⁰ Work on the extension to South Haven was to begin immediately and cars were expected to be running on it within sixty days.¹¹¹

Nevertheless difficulties continued. In January, 1887, the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company negotiated the sale of bonds to procure iron for the extension.¹¹² The Toledo and South Haven received \$65,000 from eastern capital for the extension. Franklin B. Adams and Edwin Martin sold their stock to Lucius Clark which made Clark and John Ihling owners of almost all the stock.¹¹³ Clark became president, W. G. George of South Bend became secretary, and John Ihling remained as superintendent and treasurer. This is the first instance of out-of-staters becoming interested in the Toledo and South Haven. At the end of March the iron for the extension had arrived and it was predicted cars would be running within thirty days.¹¹⁴

Earlier in the year, in January, C. F. Young, a Paw Paw druggist, had filed a bill in chancery in the circuit court of Van Buren County to set aside the transfer of the Paw Paw Railroad to the Toledo and South Haven.¹¹⁵ The Young case was heard in April.¹¹⁶ Young was a stockholder in the Paw Paw Railroad Company and was attempting to restrain the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company from negotiating with the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company for the sale of bonds to obtain money to build the extension. The

¹⁰⁹*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1886*, xi, (Lansing, 1886).

¹¹⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 9, 1886.

¹¹¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 16, 1886.

¹¹²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 19, 1887.

¹¹³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 9, 1887.

¹¹⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 30, 1887.

¹¹⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 26, 1887.

¹¹⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 13, 1887.

judge saw in Young's favor and issued an order restraining the building of the South Haven extension unless the company executed to Young a bond of \$8,000 as security for the amount that would be due him when the value of his Paw Paw Railroad stock finally would be determined.¹¹⁷

In the meantime the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company kept on building. While Young's suit was in progress, the local newspaper reported that the company had obtained money anyway and was rapidly building towards South Haven.¹¹⁸ Covert was finally connected with South Haven in May. Grading and tracklaying were to begin at Hartford and continue through to Covert.¹¹⁹ In June President Clark and Superintendent Ihling took a trip from South Haven to several miles southeast of Covert.¹²⁰ Difficulty was experienced at Hartford when the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad refused to let the Toledo and South Haven lay a frog and cross their tracks. This was settled in some way.¹²¹ By July 20 all the iron was laid, the frog was ready to be placed at Hartford, and a full gang was ballasting the track. The running of regular trains would start in a few days, it was reported.¹²² The road was opened to South Haven August 12, 1887,¹²³ and at last, almost three years after it was begun, the sixteen-mile stretch was completed.

Paw Paw had her outlet to Lake Michigan. The company even went so far as to string a telephone line along the right-of-way, all the way from Lawton to South Haven. The instrument was a Cushman, a Bell rival, and was to be sold to people rather than rented at a high fee as Bell did. The public telephone in Paw Paw was in the post office.¹²⁴ And so you not only could travel all the way to South Haven, you could telephone.

The cost of the extension was \$102,250. On top of this the company purchased a new passenger car, possibly in anticipation of the

¹¹⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 20, 1887.

¹¹⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 20, 1887.

¹¹⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 25, 1887.

¹²⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 15, 1887.

¹²¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 13, 1887.

¹²²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 20, 1887.

¹²³*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1889*, 516 (Lansing, 1889).

¹²⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), November 23, 1887.

supposed rush of people who would ride over the new road to South Haven.

The South Haven extension was supposed to aid the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company considerably financially. In fact it was almost imperative that this be so, since the funded debt had risen from a considerable \$35,000 to a tremendous \$216,000, because of the cost of the South Haven extension. The new company also had inherited the unfunded debt of the old Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Narrow Gauge Railroad Company and the Paw Paw Railroad Company of \$15,697.53, and had also acquired some unfunded debt of its own. This meant that interest on the debt would rise, which it did, from \$3,700 to \$12,960. In 1887, when the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company operated most of the year without the South Haven extension and had a smaller debt, the net income of the road had been \$13,907.82, with a profit for the year of \$10,207.82 after interest payments had been met.¹²⁵ In 1888 the net income was \$11,519.10, a decrease; and the balance for the year showed a loss of \$1,495 because of the heavy interest payments. The total income for 1888 had risen, but more rail, more stations, and greater mileage had caused expenses to rise more, and so the road was operating in the red with the South Haven extension.¹²⁶ In 1889 the debit was even more, \$3,302.29.¹²⁷

The year 1890 showed a profit, however, of \$7,134.51; but in this year no interest was paid on the funded debt.¹²⁸ Why no interest payments? The Michigan Railroad Commission explains it thus:

On the 11th of June, 1890, upon the application of the first mortgage bondholders to the U. S. Circuit Court for the Western District of Michigan, the affairs of this company were placed under a receivership, John Ihling being appointed as Receiver, and the road of the company has been operated by him since this date. . . .¹²⁹

¹²⁵*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1888*, 529 (Lansing, 1888).

¹²⁶*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1889*, 511.

¹²⁷*Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1890*, 516 (Lansing, 1890).

¹²⁸*Nineteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1891*, 391 (Lansing, 1891).

¹²⁹*Nineteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1891*, 391.

With this change came new officers representing the bondholders: R. B. Dodson, New York, president and treasurer; C. J. Monroe, South Haven, vice president; W. G. Snow, New York, secretary; John Ihling, general manager and receiver, Lawton. Directors included the above plus Charles D. Backus and William Nevius, Jr., New York; and H. W. Williams, South Haven.¹⁸⁰ The Toledo and South Haven, which was begun by local businessmen who merely wanted a connection to the Michigan Central, an outlet to Lake Michigan, and competition which would reduce freight rates, had fallen into the hands of foreigners from New York City, who wanted nothing but to make an 8 to 10 per cent return on their investment.

What were the reasons for this plunge to financial bottoms? In the first place there was never enough business to make the railroad pay. It was cheaply constructed to begin with, its repair bills were high, and consequently repairs were neglected. The Michigan railroad commissioner reported in 1888 that "the road is not first class, but is doing the people much better service than no railroads and is sufficient for the business done,"¹⁸¹ which is surely no recommendation. The poor roadbed made service slow. It took four hours and ten minutes to run from South Haven to Lawton. Since the road owned no snow plow at this time, service ceased when a big snow arrived. Because of the hilly terrain good grain land was not as prevalent as in other parts of the state; the trees available for lumbering were not the desirable pine, but the less desirable hardwoods; and fruit growing was not firmly established yet except along Lake Michigan (grapes were not grown extensively until after the droughts of the 1890's¹⁸²). Consequently, although agriculture and lumber products yielded 67.4 per cent of the 1888 freight tonnage, the number of tons of freight was not sufficient to make a good profit for the railroad.¹⁸³ What was obviously needed was a larger traffic.¹⁸⁴ But that was what we were told would happen when the road was ex-

¹⁸⁰Nineteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1891, 391.

¹⁸¹Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1889, xlv.

¹⁸²Oran W. Rowland, *History of Van Buren County, Michigan*, 329 (Chicago and New York, 1912).

¹⁸³Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1889, 514.

¹⁸⁴Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1890, 522.

tended to South Haven. Now we hear that the road must be extended to the Grand Trunk on the southeast¹³⁵ and the gauge changed to standard.¹³⁶ Then the Toledo and South Haven really would be a railroad.

Meanwhile the bondholders continued to run it. And they, not being local people, cared little whether Paw Paw had an outlet to here or there, but only whether the Toledo and South Haven made a profit. But with the heavy debt hanging over its head there seemed no good way of revitalizing the Toledo and South Haven, so why not let it die and be sold at mortgage sale? The Toledo and South Haven continued to operate through the years 1890 to 1894 with the net income steadily dropping through these serious drought years.

An idea of the physical state of the road can be gathered from the following newspaper account which states that

The residents of Lawton, Paw Paw and South Haven and other towns and the traveling public of the T & S H condemned the management, track, locomotives, cars and chiefly the time made by this road which they anathematized as a "stub," "jerkwater," "hoggerena," "jerry pipe" and others showing their disgust.

The author of the story goes on to say that when an engineer got a cinder in his eye he stopped the train at a brook to get it out, with the passengers helping. When a train ran out of wood it stopped and the crew pulled down neighboring fences to use for fuel. When a driving wheel came off the passengers had to take turns holding up that side of the engine while it ran at half speed from Lawrence to Covert. The seats on the coaches were two feet by four feet with the seat ahead only six inches distant, which did not leave much room for knees. The journalist described a ride he took from South Haven to Paw Paw. The roadbed was very bumpy. On the long grade just west of Lake Cora the engine had trouble getting over it with the big load of three cars it had. The engine was put to its highest speed, four and a half miles per hour, but could not make it. So the engineer had to pull up the passenger car alone, uncouple, and go back for the other cars. "Paw Paw residents use the delivery teams in preference, although more expensive," our author states.¹³⁷

¹³⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 21, 1892.

¹³⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 18, 1893.

¹³⁷Undated clipping of about 1895 from the *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph* in a scrapbook in the possession of Mrs. Viola Summy.

Other examples of the operation of the narrow-gauge trains can be given. Once a block of wood fell from the tender onto the tracks and derailed the coach. The passengers rode into town on the engine.¹³⁸ A train coming out of Lawton dropped a connecting rod, disabling one cylinder. "The train ran in all right with the other one."¹³⁹ A flat car ran over a child's leg while he was playing under it. No bones were broken!¹⁴⁰

The engine hauling the train from South Haven became disabled a few rods from the Paw Paw station and a large crowd of passengers, wanting to catch the Michigan Central east bound at Lawton, were disappointed. Some returned to town to try later and others waited for the firing up of another engine which would catch the later express.¹⁴¹

A special train from South Haven to Hartford found the road blocked by a large tree blown on the track one mile east of Toquin. The rails were broken and the ties smashed. After clearing the debris, rails were propped up so the engine could go across, then the car was pushed across by hand. If the special had not discovered the break, a serious wreck could have occurred for the night train.¹⁴² Another time a piece of rail had broken and fallen out on a high embankment. A wreck was averted when a local resident discovered the broken rail and waited for the train to come so he could flag it.¹⁴³

When it snowed, things were really bad. In 1893 a train spent over five hours pounding at snow drifts between Paw Paw and Hartford.¹⁴⁴ A week later, trains west of Paw Paw were out altogether because of the snow and the fact that both of the heavier engines were disabled. The pony, a little nine-ton engine, managed to keep communication opened between Paw Paw and the Michigan Central at Lawton.¹⁴⁵ This was enough to make men mad. The *True Northerner* noted that the narrow-gauge railroad had been practically closed to travel for several days because of the snow and the two

¹³⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 25, 1883.

¹³⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 2, 1886.

¹⁴⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 27, 1887.

¹⁴¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), November 16, 1892.

¹⁴²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 13, 1892.

¹⁴³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 14, 1892.

¹⁴⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 11, 1893.

¹⁴⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 18, 1893.

broken-down engines.

This has caused considerable delay, nuisance and expense. With a standard gauge railroad no such delays would be experienced. Let's have a full-sized railway right away. Are there not sufficient able-bodied, live, energetic business men in Paw Paw and its vicinity to get about the work of securing this desirable and needed change?¹⁴⁶

On May 23, 1894, articles of association were filed for the South Haven and Eastern Railroad Company with a capital stock of \$300,000. Its officers were: R. B. Dodson, president and treasurer; W. G. Snow, secretary; and Robert H. England, Lawton, general manager. On June 7, 1894, the South Haven and Eastern took possession of the Toledo and South Haven Railroad.¹⁴⁷ Thus John Ihling, the last of the original promoters of the Toledo and South Haven, and its strongest supporter, dropped out of the picture and even the general manager was a rank outsider.

The road General Manager England inherited in 1894 was in quite a shape. The annual inspection showed the bridges to be in bad condition and the ties unsatisfactory. The Michigan railroad commissioner was in receipt of a petition from Benjamin F. Herbert, Charles W. Young, and thirty-six others of the Paw Paw area in which they called attention to the condition of the South Haven and Eastern. The petitioners stated that "the tracks, bridges and rolling stock are in a dangerous and dilapidated condition and unfit for passengers. We believe the ties are rotten, the iron partially worn out and the bridges in need of repairs." Acting on this petition, the railroad commissioner ordered the speed of trains reduced to twelve miles per hour on the level until repairs were made and commented that the manager had advertised for the purchase of thirty thousand ties.¹⁴⁸

Apparently England was sent from New York to straighten out the road. Without first becoming acquainted with the problems or the people, he proceeded to fire the two engineers, Allison Johnson and Samuel Munger. Johnson, who had been one of the first engineers on the railroad, was a nephew of John Ihling¹⁴⁹ and was

¹⁴⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 25, 1893.

¹⁴⁷*Twenty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1893*, (Lansing, 1893).

¹⁴⁸*Twenty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1893*.

¹⁴⁹Mrs. Viola Summy to the author, August 5, 1953.

well respected in the Paw Paw area. He and Munger refused to let this outsider get the better of them. They organized a hack business between Paw Paw and Lawton, Munger handling the passenger end and Johnson the freight. They found the people of Paw Paw very cooperative in giving them the best business in town, even though their rates were higher than those of the railroad. Even after the line from Hartford to South Haven had been built, the best business of the old Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company was on the Paw Paw to Lawton line. It was not too long before this hack business was making big inroads into the profits of the South Haven and Eastern Railroad Company.

England also moved the general offices of the railroad from Lawton, where they had been since 1881, to South Haven. This was considered a direct snub to the people of the Paw Paw area.

The road continued to operate, some years at a bare profit, some at a loss; but at no time was it able to pay any of the interest on the funded debt. This debt was for \$216,000 due April 1, 1925, at New York, with interest of 3 per cent for eight years, 4 per cent for three years, and 5 per cent until maturity. Thus the interest at 3 per cent would have been \$6,480 a year which, if paid, would have sunk the railroad far into the red. In fact it could not pay all its current expenses because it carried an unfunded debt for current bills of around \$8,000 for the year 1896 and \$1,400 for the year 1897.¹⁵⁰ Apparently New York management was no better than Paw Paw management.

The physical state of the road continued to decline. After the annual inspection of 1895 the Michigan Railroad Commissioner reported "the road will need many tie renewals and bridge repairs during the coming season. General watchful care will be needed to keep it safe for public travel."¹⁵¹

Another phase of operation which caused difficulty was interchange. The interchange of the narrow-gauge cars with the standard-gauge cars of the Michigan Central Railroad was solved partially

¹⁵⁰Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1897, 476 (Lansing, 1897); Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1898, 513 (Lansing, 1899).

¹⁵¹Twenty-third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1895, xi (Lansing, 1895).

by jacking up the narrow-gauge cars, removing the trucks, and sliding standard-gauge trucks in place.¹⁵² This practice is still followed on present narrow-gauge railroads.

The South Haven and Eastern Railroad continued on the downgrade. In 1895 England moved its offices back from South Haven to Lawton. This helped little. Criticism of the road was strong. A large amount of it came from Paw Paw. It was obvious finally that as long as England was manager, the narrow-gauge company could not make headway. He was replaced in 1896. The *True Northerner* noted that England was so adverse to criticism of his management that "he wouldn't enter the doors of the *Northerner* for many months before he left the road" and would not pay his printing bills. The newspaper went on to say that "the bills are paid under the new management."¹⁵³

The new manager was M. V. Meredith. One of his first acts was to hire back Johnson and Munger. They accepted and promptly took their hacks off the Lawton to Paw Paw run. Meredith not only rehired the former engineers but he proposed to move the general offices of the company from Lawton to Paw Paw. Meredith and Auditor E. F. Eilert moved their offices to the upper story of the depot building in Paw Paw. And that is not all, for it was announced that

as soon as suitable an engine house will be built. . . . The present management seems well disposed toward Paw Paw. Meredith wants the track extended and terminal facilities in the center of town. He also proposes Lawton freight rates on all through shipments, thus placing us substantially on the main line so far as freight rates are concerned. . . . It is a misfortune for Paw Paw to be four miles off the main line; all we can do now is to make ourselves as accessible as possible. Nothing trending in this direction should be overlooked.¹⁵⁴

The city of Paw Paw is located on the north side of the Paw Paw River. Its attempts to get a bridge across the river and to locate the depot within its confines make an interesting story. At first the Paw Paw Railroad ran only to the south bank of the river, but later a bridge was built so trains could run across the river, where a depot was built. In 1876, however, the depot was moved to the

¹⁵²Will Exceen to the author, August 12, 1953.

¹⁵³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 3, 1896.

¹⁵⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 1, 1896.

south side of the river and the bridge and track across were taken up.¹⁵⁵ This was the year in which the Van Buren Division of the Toledo and South Haven Railroad Company was organized. The first step taken by the Van Buren Division in building the road from Paw Paw to Lawrence and beyond was the construction of a new track and bridge across the Paw Paw River farther down stream by the Paw Paw Mills so that flour could be loaded directly onto the cars. The extension was paid for by the milling firm of A. Sherman and G. W. Longwell. Since Sherman and Longwell paid for the bridge, the crossing of the Paw Paw River was without cost to the Van Buren Division and made the extension to Lawrence easier to come by; but the new bridge and trackage to the mills did not help Paw Paw because the depot was on the opposite side of the river from the city and necessitated a long walk or a hack ride for people to go to the train from the center of town. Also all freight to town had to be carted. So from that day on the business people of Paw Paw were interested in seeing the depot and freight house downtown. Incidentally, both Sherman and Longwell were stockholders in the Van Buren Division and Longwell was also a stockholder in the Paw Paw Railroad.

But there were more pressing uses for whatever money Manager Meredith could scrape up than rerouting the line and building a depot in the center of Paw Paw. Track was wearing out, fences were broken or missing, ties needed renewing, and the road should be made standard gauge. In 1896 over six miles of heavier steel rail were laid, some steep grades were reduced, some fences were mended, motive power was repaired, \$300 was spent for a snow plow (at long last), and the unfunded debt increased to \$8,577.¹⁵⁶ Numerous excursions were set up at reduced fare to give the line a boost; for example there was one to South Haven and back for 25 cents, and another to Grand Rapids for \$1.00.¹⁵⁷

But this was not enough. Dodson's New York friends were not making the 8 to 10 per cent earnings on their investment that they had been told they should. In 1897 they sold their interests to

¹⁵⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), November 10, 1876.

¹⁵⁶*Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1896*, 453 (Lansing, 1896).

¹⁵⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 13, 1896.

a new group of people from the Midwest. The directors of the road in this year were: A. A. Patterson, Jr. and D. H. Patterson, Benton Harbor; F. B. Benton, Chicago; Fred McOmber, Berrien Springs; and R. B. Dodson, New York, who still retained his stock. Officers were: A. A. Patterson, Jr., president and treasurer; D. H. Patterson, vice president; F. B. Benton, secretary; M. V. Meredith, auditor and general manager.¹⁵⁸

The new directors undertook to make the line standard gauge, since it was obvious by this time that a narrow-gauge railroad just could not offer the service needed. By the middle of 1898 part of the line from Lawton to Hartford was made standard gauge and Paw Paw's connection with the Michigan Central Railroad, which had been broken so sharply in 1877, was finally restored. The balance of the line, which was still narrow gauge, was in pitiful shape and was being neglected because of the anticipated change to standard gauge in the spring of 1899. The equipment was not even in fair condition and would be useless if a severe winter came.¹⁵⁹

Somehow the directors struggled through the winter and in April, 1899, the railroad became standard gauge throughout its entire length.¹⁶⁰ Other improvements were made also, such as filling in a trestle, and building a new bridge over the Paw Paw River. The road was still not as good as a main-line railroad, since a lot of the work had to be done as cheaply as possible, but still it was a marked improvement. The road picked up a new general manager, G. H. Patterson, who was probably related to the Pattersons who controlled the road financially. The net income jumped under the Pattersons to \$8,000 in 1898,¹⁶¹ \$16,000 in 1899,¹⁶² and \$17,000 in 1900. The road was even able to pay the interest on its funded debt and still have \$10,000 left over in 1900.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1897, 475.

¹⁵⁹Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1898, clxx.

¹⁶⁰Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1899, 35 (Lansing, 1900).

¹⁶¹Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1899, 147.

¹⁶²Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1900, 322 (Lansing, 1901).

The South Haven and Eastern Railroad entered into an era of good feeling and prosperity at this time. The *True Northerner* reported:

A representative of a prominent trunk line said: "The South Haven and Eastern gives the best passenger service of any small road in Michigan." This is a compliment earned by hard work and constant effort on the part of the management to improve service. People in whose minds may linger recollections of narrow gauge and unreliable service are invited to join in the International Congress excursion, August 6. The S H & E will then demonstrate its ability to handle a first class excursion of generous proportions and render acceptable service.¹⁶⁴

It was also noted that the South Haven and Eastern Railroad Company acquired a passenger representative in Chicago. Six through trains were being run daily and four on Sundays.¹⁶⁵

Freight shippers were also pleased with the new look on the South Haven and Eastern.

Fruit shippers of Lawton said that the S H & E is now furnishing more refrigerator cars and giving prompter service than the Michigan Central. The S H & E is doing a big business and Paw Paw is becoming a great shipping point. Peat moss, grapes, hay, cans, peaches, lumber and grain are being shipped,¹⁶⁶

reported the local newspaper.

Facilities were expanded also. New sidings and a turntable were installed, and a new brick roundhouse was started at Paw Paw in 1900.¹⁶⁷ The latter, the Paw Paw newspaper remarked, "will fulfill a pledge of the management to the people and will be a great advantage to Paw Paw."¹⁶⁸ It was to have room for five engines and would bring a number of new families to Paw Paw.¹⁶⁹ A survey was completed on a proposed branch from Covert to Paw Paw Lake to serve the resort summer trade, although "the company has not abandoned its project of extension south from Lawton at a future date."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1901, 190-92 (Lansing, 1901).

¹⁶⁴The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 3, 1900.

¹⁶⁵The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 20, 1900.

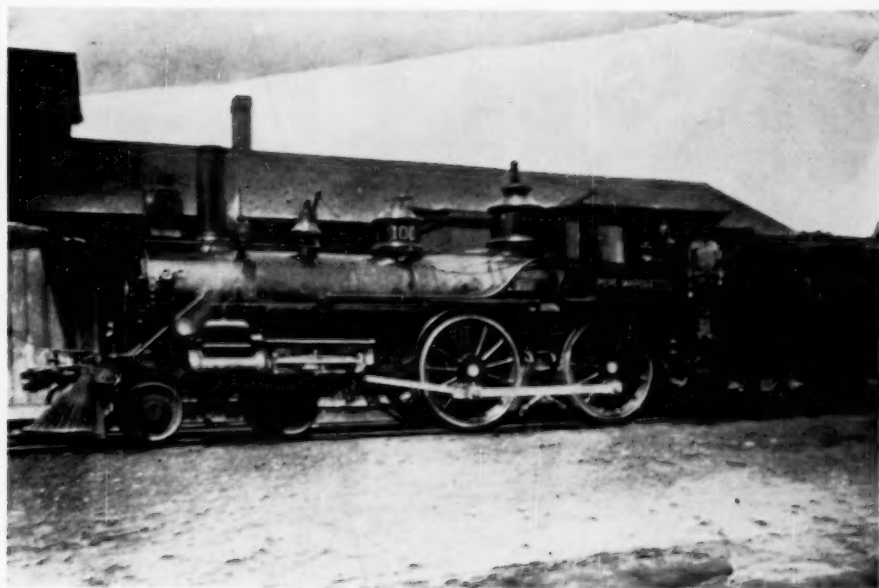
¹⁶⁶The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 21, 1900.

¹⁶⁷The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 4, September 28, 1900.

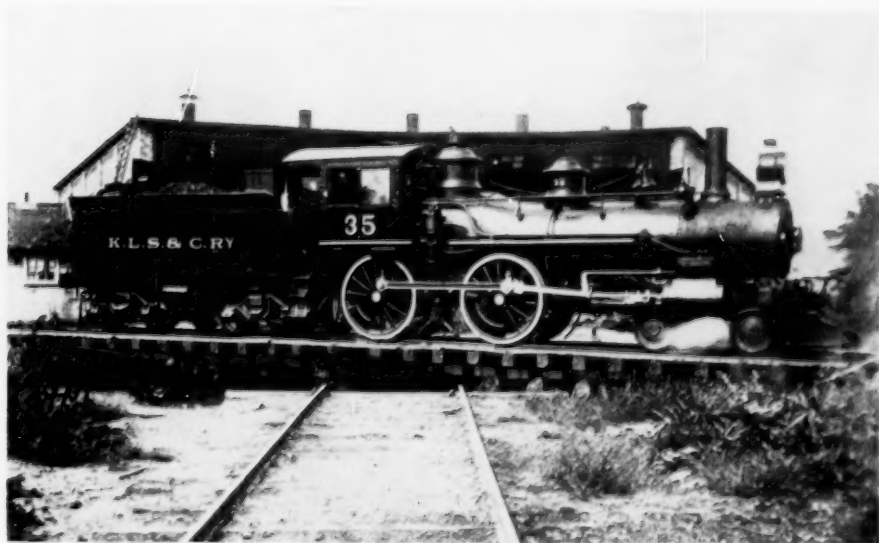
¹⁶⁸The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 12, 1900.

¹⁶⁹The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 19, 1900.

¹⁷⁰The *True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 21, 1900.



PERE MARQUETTE ENGINE, LAWTON, 1905



KALAMAZOO, LAKE SHORE, AND CHICAGO ENGINE ON
TURNTABLE



DEPOT AND FREIGHT HOUSE, PAW PAW, 1888

A rumor that the South Haven and Eastern Railroad had been sold to the Pere Marquette Railroad Company was contradicted by railroad officials in October, 1900.¹⁷¹ The Pere Marquette had been formed in 1899 through the consolidation of three railroad companies, the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad Company, the Chicago and West Michigan Railway Company, and the Detroit, Grand Rapids and Western Railroad Company, to make the largest railroad system in Michigan.¹⁷² The Chicago and West Michigan Railroad ran from New Buffalo to Grand Rapids and northward, passing through Hartford and Bangor. Nine years earlier it had been reported that the Toledo and South Haven was sold to the Chicago and West Michigan¹⁷³ but this was in error, as was the present rumor. Rumors of this sort were probably always cropping up, since the large railroad systems tended to absorb the smaller ones as feeders.

Rolling stock and engines were being kept in good repair under the direction of J. H. Desmond, the master mechanic. A new caboose was built in the South Haven and Eastern's own shops, and engine number nine was thoroughly rebuilt so that it was the best on the road. The paper commended Desmond's skill and the enterprise of the owners of the road "in their efforts to provide first class equipment."¹⁷⁴

The company was advanced in its day in its relations with its employees. According to the *True Northerner* it entered into a contract with the International Correspondence Schools to educate its employees by mail. The International Correspondence Schools also sent an instruction car to Paw Paw, which stayed there from May 19 to 24, 1902. The newspaper reported that

the car is open daily from 8 a.m. till 10 p.m. The lectures on combustion are quite interesting under the management of Instructor Howell. In one of his demonstrations he burns steel as easily as if it were tinder. All the lectures are given with the stereopticon, showing the interior of the locomotive, fire boxes under different conditions, the formation of clinkers, the cause, and how to avoid them. Instructor C. Fred Smith, although a young man, is very entertaining in his lectures on air brake

¹⁷¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 12, 1900.

¹⁷²Paul Wesley Ivey, *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company*, 263 (Lansing, 1919).

¹⁷³*Railroad Gazette* (New York), July 10, 1891.

¹⁷⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 4, May 16, 1902.

appliances at present in use. The S H & E wants to be up-to-date, and with that in view has made the contract which brought the instruction car to Paw Paw. The public is invited to call and inspect the car.¹⁷⁵

This sort of progress was unheard of in the earlier days. The management was well thought of (a rarity in itself) and seemed to be making money. In 1902 total income was \$90,000 and net income, \$29,905.¹⁷⁶ On the surface the road looked prosperous.

In 1902 the South Haven and Eastern Railroad Company fell into new hands again. The road was acquired by Fred W. Steele and associates of Chicago. They also purchased the Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Columbus Railroad, whose route ran twenty-six miles from Benton Harbor to Buchanan; and the Benton Harbor, Coloma and Paw Paw Lake Railroad, which had a route of two and seven-tenths miles from Coloma to Paw Paw Lake. He intended to consolidate the three railroad companies as the Michigan Shore and Eastern Railway Company. The Michigan Shore and Eastern Railway Company proposed to operate the South Haven and Eastern; the Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Columbus; and the Benton Harbor, Coloma and Paw Paw Lake railroads together and make certain extensions of line so as to connect them together and make connections with main trunk lines. The Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Columbus was to be connected with the Benton Harbor, Coloma and Paw Paw Lake Railroad; the Benton Harbor, Coloma and Paw Paw Lake Railroad to be extended to Covert and possibly to Toquin to connect with the South Haven and Eastern; the South Haven and Eastern to be extended to Kalamazoo and Vicksburg to connect with the Grand Trunk Western; the Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Coloma to be extended to Niles, South Bend, and Nappaunee on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and the South Haven and Eastern to be extended from South Haven to Saugatuck.¹⁷⁷ This consolidation did not actually take place and although the roads issued joint timetables and were operated together, the companies were kept separate in name.

With its purchase new officers appeared for the South Haven and Eastern Railroad Company. Fred W. Steele was president; Edward

¹⁷⁵*The True Northerner (Paw Paw)*, May 23, 1902.

¹⁷⁶*Thirty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1903*, 151 (Lansing, 1904).

¹⁷⁷*The True Northerner (Paw Paw)*, February 13, 1903.

Maher, Chicago, vice president and general manager; and George E. Van Hagen, Chicago, secretary.¹⁷⁸ This meant that Edward Maher was general managing in Paw Paw and vice presidenting in Chicago, a neat trick. The office of superintendent was abolished, which eased out D. H. Patterson.¹⁷⁹ Later the office of assistant to the general manager was abolished and W. P. Squier was appointed traffic manager of both the South Haven and Eastern and the Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Coloma. At the same time pay-day for employees was advanced from the twenty-fifth to the twentieth of the month, which pleased those employees who remembered that "not so long ago it was an uncertain matter when pay day would come around."¹⁸⁰

It is possible that Steele and his associates purchased these railroads as an investment, but ensuing events make it seem otherwise. At the time this was happening the Pere Marquette Railroad was entering into a locked-horns battle with the Michigan Central over the Chicago-Detroit trade. The Michigan Central had the advantage of a shorter route. The management of the Pere Marquette, which had been organized recently and which was in a dubious financial position,¹⁸¹ apparently saw that the only way it could hope to compete successfully for the lucrative east-west business was to have a shorter Detroit-Chicago route than the Pere Marquette then had. There were two ways this could be done: build a cutoff on the Chicago-Detroit line, which went through Hartford to Grand Rapids, then east to Detroit; or acquire other railroads which could be connected together to form such a cutoff. At this time there was an independently operated railroad, the Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw, stretching from Kalamazoo to Woodbury, which was on the Pere Marquette main line from Grand Rapids to Detroit. Also there was the South Haven and Eastern, which connected with the Pere Marquette at Hartford, then wandered over to Lawton. There was a sixteen-mile gap between Lawton and Kalamazoo to fill and the cutoff would be had.

On April 1, 1903, the Pere Marquette purchased the South Haven

¹⁷⁸Thirty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan, for the Year 1903, 131.

¹⁷⁹The True Northerner (Paw Paw), October 10, 1902.

¹⁸⁰The True Northerner (Paw Paw), December 5, 1902.

¹⁸¹Ivey, The Pere Marquette, 273-74.

and Eastern, the Milwaukee, Benton Harbor and Columbus, and the Benton Harbor, Coloma and Paw Paw Lake railroads from Steele.¹⁸² It is hard to believe that Steele bought these railroads for any other reason than to sell them to the Pere Marquette since he did not keep them a year. The Pere Marquette apparently found it more difficult to acquire the Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw. Either the owners would not sell for personal reasons, or the Michigan Central had gotten to them ahead of the Pere Marquette and persuaded them to keep their road out of the Pere Marquette hands. The Michigan Central did not obtain control of the Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw until December 27, 1906, when it acquired 60 per cent of the capital stock of the Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw Railroad.¹⁸³ This was three years after the Pere Marquette had acquired the South Haven and Eastern.

At any rate the South Haven and Eastern found itself in the hands of the Pere Marquette at long last and it was not good for the people of Paw Paw. Since the Pere Marquette failed in its attempt to get the Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw, it was stuck with the South Haven and Eastern, which it was forced to continue operating at a loss.¹⁸⁴ The Pere Marquette management at this time was not noted for its enlightened public interest. This attitude apparently pervaded all levels of the company organization, because very soon the South Haven and Eastern was back to its old ways.

The *True Northerner* commented in May, 1904, that

the new timetable gives Paw Paw the most unsatisfactory passenger accommodations in its checkered railroad history. Not one good connection is made at Lawton [the Pere Marquette apparently refusing to recognize the existence of the Michigan Central] and we cannot get east until evening over the Michigan Central unless we wait four hours in the forenoon—or else use our excellent hack service, which is now in daily operation between Paw Paw and Lawton. We can go to South Haven and do business and have less than an hour there in the middle of the day. We don't get the morning papers until 8:45 and we can't get the evening papers the same day they are printed.

The *True Northerner* suggested a protest to the Pere Marquette Railroad Company and the use of the hack service until better facil-

¹⁸²Ivey, *The Pere Marquette*, 279-80.

¹⁸³Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Michigan Central Railroad Company (Detroit, 1906).

¹⁸⁴Ivey, *The Pere Marquette*, 281.

ities were provided.¹⁸⁵ A little later the newspaper stated that many people were driving to Gobleville (the present village of Gobles) and taking the Michigan Central to South Haven for better service.¹⁸⁶

An Interstate Commerce Commission official came to Paw Paw to investigate the extortionate freight rates on the Pere Marquette and Michigan Central. These roads would only haul Armour refrigerator cars and the rate was excessive. If the shippers could have gotten other refrigerator cars, the charges would have been less.¹⁸⁷

The freight service also was bad. After protests had been made, a traveling freight agent came to town and met with the fruit growers. He promised them better connections with the boats from Benton Harbor to Chicago.¹⁸⁸

A row developed later in 1904 between the Pere Marquette and the Graham and Morton Steamboat Company of Benton Harbor. It was reported that the Graham and Morton Steamboat Company was anxious to see someone build an electric railroad between Benton Harbor and Kalamazoo so they would not have to use Pere Marquette service.¹⁸⁹ Paw Paw residents were encouraged to see such a company actively interested in the proposed electric railroad and hoped that this interest would hasten construction. It was becoming obvious to them that the only way they would get good service was to have a line competing with the Pere Marquette, just as earlier they had hoped for a line to compete with the Michigan Central.

The Pere Marquette was neglecting the South Haven and Eastern and letting it run down physically. Consequently wrecks were very frequent.¹⁹⁰ A bitter war was in progress between the Michigan Central and the Pere Marquette, and the *True Northerner* hoped that this would prompt the Michigan Central to open a branch line to Paw Paw from Lawton.¹⁹¹ As usual nothing came of it and the South Haven and Eastern wandered along on its disreputable pace for a while longer.

In the 1880's, the use of electricity for streetcar lines was perfected, which resulted in cable and horsecar lines rapidly being

¹⁸⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 6, 1904.

¹⁸⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 27, 1904.

¹⁸⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 20, 1904.

¹⁸⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 27, 1904.

¹⁸⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 29, 1904.

¹⁹⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 29, 1905.

¹⁹¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 18, 1905.

replaced with this new mode of power. Soon these electric lines began to build out from the cities, and eventually city to city (interurban) connections were made. These interurbans built on heavy track usually paralleling highways or steam roads. High-speed cars were acquired and freight and express solicited. Interurban construction was slow in the nineties but shortly after 1900 a great boom developed and by 1910 the interurban system in the Midwest was essentially complete.

In Michigan the first interurbans were of course in the Detroit area and expansion proceeded westward. There was a line from Detroit through Ann Arbor, Jackson, and Battle Creek to Kalamazoo. But there was no connection westward from Kalamazoo to Lake Michigan, although Grand Rapids was connected to the lake at Saugatuck, Grand Haven, and Muskegon. An interurban from Kalamazoo to the lake was considered desirable; it would connect Detroit with Lake Michigan.¹⁹²

In the post-Civil War days when steam roads were rapidly being planned and built, Paw Paw had its share of proposals, as we have seen. Now again, with this new mode of power for transportation, Paw Paw was sought out as an obvious town to be on an interurban line.

The first proposal for an interurban to include Paw Paw was made in 1896 by the Benton Harbor and Eastern Railway and Transit Company. This company wanted to run a road from Benton Harbor through Keeler, Decatur, Paw Paw, and Gobleville to Allegan; and to run boats from Benton Harbor to Chicago. The promoters, however, had no definite proposition to make to Paw Paw.¹⁹³ The newspaper reported that the promoters of the electric railroad wanted money before they would begin construction.¹⁹⁴ The promoters said stock subscriptions would be payable when cars were running into the towns aiding the road. Later it was agreed that prospects were better now than at any other time for another railroad to Paw Paw.¹⁹⁵ The promoters were ready to talk to Paw Paw people about construction and were ready for final negotiations with them for financ-

¹⁹²John F. Due, "The Rise and Decline of the Midwest Interurban," in the *Railroad Magazine*, 74-89 (October, 1953).

¹⁹³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 17, 1896.

¹⁹⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 24, 1896.

¹⁹⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 15, 1896.

ing. They obtained unanimous approval at a meeting of Paw Paw business men for bonds to be purchased and they began surveying a line through the area.¹⁹⁶ This interurban never got built, however, probably because of a lack of money.

The next proposed interurban was the Kalamazoo Valley Traction Company which received a franchise from the Paw Paw common council for an electric line which was to run from Kalamazoo through Almena, Paw Paw, Lawrence, and Hartford to Benton Harbor with a branch to Lawton and Decatur from Paw Paw and a branch to Bangor and South Haven from Lawrence. Another line from Benton Harbor to Kalamazoo was proposed by J. W. Van Cleve of Benton Harbor who represented Indiana interests. "It is practically certain one of these lines will enter Paw Paw,"¹⁹⁷ said the local newspaper. Neither of these lines got built. The latter was never even given a name.

A few years later the Kalamazoo and Lake Shore Traction Company applied for a franchise to run through Paw Paw. This electric road was proposed to run from Benton Harbor through Paw Paw Lake, Hartford, Paw Paw, Mattawan, and Oshtemo to Kalamazoo. C. A. Mullins was general manager.¹⁹⁸ This road never got beyond the talking stage either. Other lines were proposed but never got so far as to even be given names.

The one proposed electric line which seemed to have the most promise was the one known as the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company. The promoters of this road were Samuel J. Dunkley, Charles Williams, George Bardeen of Otsego, and others. Dunkley was a Kalamazoo canner and a partner with Williams in the Dunkley-Williams Steamship Company which operated boats between South Haven and Chicago. Representatives of this line came to Paw Paw on February 28, 1905, and promised positively that the road would be in operation between South Haven, Benton Harbor, and east as far as Paw Paw by midsummer and that it would be completed to Kalamazoo by 1906. No assistance would be required of the people other than in securing the right-of-way.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 22, 1896.

¹⁹⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 14, 1900.

¹⁹⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 13, 1904.

¹⁹⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 3, 1905.

At a general meeting James Grant of Kalamazoo, the president of the company, said that money was in sight to float bonds for the road, but that the company would like help not only in securing the right-of-way but also in the form of as substantial donations or stock subscriptions as possible. The businessmen of Paw Paw were cool to the idea of any actual money outlay on their part, but promised to furnish a right-of-way through the village and grant a liberal franchise. A committee was appointed to expedite this promise. Grant said that surveyors were already working from South Haven towards Paw Paw.²⁰⁰

Later the Paw Paw common council granted a franchise to Dunkley, Williams, and Bardcen for a street railway, on the condition that the line be in operation by July 1, 1906.²⁰¹ This franchise, together with those granted in Lawrence, Bangor, and South Haven, was then sold and conveyed by these three to the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company.²⁰² The proposed line was to run from South Haven through Bangor and Lawrence to Paw Paw and then in an undetermined manner to Kalamazoo. Surveyors had about set the right-of-way as far east as Paw Paw.²⁰³

It was the Paw Paw to Kalamazoo end of the line which would be the most important, however, for here was where the greatest traffic would lie. A franchise for the city of Kalamazoo was a must. However, the Kalamazoo city council was being cautious about letting another street railway franchise for that city. At first they would not approve the franchise without a clause in it giving the city the right to own the street lines at some future date. This clause was objectionable to Dunkley, Williams, and their associates because it meant they would have trouble disposing of their bonds. Construction was being delayed because of the uncertainty over the Kalamazoo franchise.²⁰⁴ However, at a later date the franchise was approved without the city ownership clause²⁰⁵ although the exact terms of the franchise are unknown. This franchise was approved on May 29, 1905, and was transferred to the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore

²⁰⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), March 10, 1905.

²⁰¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), April 21, 1905.

²⁰²*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), September 1, 1905.

²⁰³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 26, 1905.

²⁰⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), May 26, 1905.

²⁰⁵*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 2, 1905.

and Chicago Traction Company by Dunkley, Williams, and Bardeen on June 17, 1905.²⁰⁶ The *True Northerner* commented: "With the right-of-way secured, it will soon be up to the electric people to 'make good' their promises."²⁰⁷

James Grant, the president of the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company, stated that it was the company's intention to do all the grading on the line in the summer and fall, allow the roadbed to settle through the winter, and lay the track early in the spring of 1906.²⁰⁸

But the problem of the Paw Paw to Kalamazoo right-of-way had not been solved yet. Apparently funds were not as readily available as had been hoped and short cuts had to be sought. In examining the land between Paw Paw and Kalamazoo the surveyors apparently ran onto the old Calico grade which, it will be remembered, had been built before the Civil War to connect Paw Paw to the Michigan Central Railroad. This grade had never been used and had been standing all these long years. Here was a grade that was practically ready to lay iron on and Grant proceeded to obtain it as a part of the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago right-of-way. On August 4, 1905, Grant was so sure of this windfall that he was again promising that "the hum of the electric cars will be heard in 'beautiful Paw Paw' in time to handle freight this season."²⁰⁹ To a comment by a South Haven paper that work on the Paw Paw to Lawton line over the Calico grade would begin in ten days, the *True Northerner* replied: "Let us pray."²¹⁰ And sure enough work was actually begun, preparing the old Calico grade, and making the necessary extension into Lawton. Work also was continued on the grading of the South Haven end.²¹¹

So the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company had a right-of-way from South Haven to Lawton but had none eastward from Lawton to Kalamazoo. About this time another windfall came the way of Grant. The Michigan Central in the years 1904 and 1905 was in the process of double-tracking its main line and

²⁰⁶Kalamazoo County Register of Deeds, liber 121, page 439.

²⁰⁷*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), June 2, 1905.

²⁰⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), July 21, 1905.

²⁰⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 4, 1905.

²¹⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 11, 1905.

²¹¹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 25, October 6, 1905.

reducing various grades and curves. One of the grades to be reduced was that leading westward out of Kalamazoo to a summit at Oshtemo. The Michigan Central built a cutoff around this hill which lengthened the line considerably but reduced the grade. The new line joined the old line at Mattawan. Known as the Miller cutoff, this line was opened on August 13, 1905.²¹² This left a line of road from Kalamazoo through Oshtemo to Mattawan unused by the Michigan Central.

On August 25, 1905, the *True Northerner* reported that there was a well-founded rumor that the old Michigan Central roadbed had been acquired by the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago, and commented that "it may be possible to get to Lawton and Kalamazoo before the snow flies."²¹³ This rumor was founded in fact because on October 13, 1905, the *True Northerner* noted that work was begun just west of Mattawan where the proposed road left the old Michigan Central roadbed.²¹⁴ The actual transfer of the old road to the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago did not occur until September 27, 1906,²¹⁵ but the roadbed was used before this date, so apparently the arrangements were perfected in 1905.

The right-of-way was now acquired from Kalamazoo to Mattawan and from Lawton to South Haven, leaving a gap of four miles between Mattawan and Lawton still to be acquired. This gap presented several problems. There was the problem of obtaining a right-of-way. Apparently the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago entered into an agreement with the Michigan Central Railroad, since it built its line on the Michigan Central right-of-way, paralleling the Michigan Central's track all the way from Mattawan to Lawton. However, the old Michigan Central right-of-way came into Mattawan south of the new double-track line and the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago left Lawton on the north of the Michigan Central, which meant that somewhere between Mattawan and Lawton the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago must cross the Michigan Central tracks. The Michigan Central had built a bridge over one of the roads running through the country between Mattawan and Lawton,

²¹²Harold Blair to the author, November 15, 1953.

²¹³*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), August 25, 1905.

²¹⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 13, 1905.

²¹⁵Kalamazoo County Register of Deeds, liber 131, pages 458, 459.

and the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago made an arrangement by which its track could make a sharp turn and go on this road under the Michigan Central bridge, then come out on the other side and make another sharp turn to again run parallel to the Michigan Central tracks. The Michigan Central was successfully crossed, but whenever a Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago train approached this crossing, the train had to stop while the conductor got out and flagged any vehicular traffic there might be on the highway, then the train had to slowly make the double twist which brought it out on the other side. Not the most satisfactory arrangement from an operating point of view!

Work was begun in earnest and continued through the fall of 1905. Grading of the Mattawan to Lawton segment was pushed, ties and rails were purchased and delivered, and although no electric hum would be heard before the snow flew, surely it would come with the sounds of spring.²¹⁶

One of the county roads between Mattawan and Lawton required a bridge crossing. The company entered into an agreement with the township board concerning the manner of construction of the bridge. The agreement, however, was not complied with, the company apparently building a more cheaply constructed bridge than it had agreed to. This occasioned considerable three-way correspondence between the township, the company, and the railroad commission. Since the bridge was safe for the traffic presented, the township apparently did not get its way and the bridge was allowed to stand. The controversy probably left the township with ill feelings for the company, though.²¹⁷

The original franchise granted to Dunkley, Williams, and Bardeen by Kalamazoo was apparently unsatisfactory, as a second franchise was hanging fire, this one with an onerous tax clause that was distasteful to Dunkley. Although there is no record, apparently this franchise was eventually approved, probably without the tax clause. A group of Kalamazoo businessmen petitioned the city council to approve the franchise without the clause.²¹⁸ This may have been

²¹⁶*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 20, 27, November 3, December 15, 1905.

²¹⁷*Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission to the Governor of the State of Michigan for the year 1907*, 54 (Lansing, 1908).

²¹⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), October 20, 1905.

enough to swing it.

With a good deal of the track work finished, the company purchased two coaches and made arrangements to obtain a steam locomotive to use during the winter and as an aid in completing the track laying.²¹⁹ "Now that the railroad is assured," the Paw Paw newspaper exhorted, "people should do something to attract more business to Paw Paw."²²⁰

The line from Kalamazoo to Paw Paw was practically finished by March, 1906, and only bad weather prevented the opening of the road. At this time the Dunkley-Williams Steamship Company consolidated with the Michigan Steamship Company, and the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago was to run in direct connection with this line when construction to South Haven was completed.²²¹

Finally the big day arrived. The railroad was open. True, it was only completed as far west as Paw Paw, money or some other stumbling block holding up the completion of the Paw Paw to South Haven segment. True also, the road was not ready to run yet by electricity, only two rails having been laid and no interurban cars having been purchased. But it was ready to run. It did have two temporary coaches and a steam engine. Was not that enough? The Kalamazoo *Telegraph* announced: "All aboard for Paw Paw!"²²² and sure enough, that was what happened. Three trains (or the same train three times) a day were to be run, with a one-hour trip to Paw Paw, except on the midday train which would handle freight and take one and one-half hours. Stops would be made at Asylum, Colony Farm, Oshtemo, Brighton, Rix, Mattawan, Lawton, and Paw Paw. The first train was run May 5, 1906.²²³ Round trip fare to Paw Paw was fifty cents.²²⁴

Although everything about the above arrangement may seem a little temporary, the most temporary aspect of the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company at this time was its Kalamazoo depot. Since the company was not using electricity yet, it could not build onto Kalamazoo streets, so the first depot was estab-

²¹⁹*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), December 22, 1905.

²²⁰*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), January 26, 1906.

²²¹*Kalamazoo Telegraph*, March 23, 1906.

²²²*Kalamazoo Telegraph*, May 4, 1906.

²²³*Kalamazoo Telegraph*, May 4, 1906.

²²⁴*Kalamazoo Telegraph*, August 24, 1906.

lished on the very edge of the city, on the north side of West Michigan Avenue where it crosses the Michigan Central tracks.²²⁵ Thus patrons of the railroad had to walk a block and transfer to a street car to get to downtown Kalamazoo, an arrangement which probably did not please passengers coming to Kalamazoo to shop. The first attempt to rectify this handicap was made when the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago petitioned the city to furnish a grade on West Michigan Avenue from West Lovell Street to its depot so that the Michigan United Railways, which operated the Kalamazoo street cars, could run cars from the business section to connect with all Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago trains.²²⁶ Either the grade was never furnished or the Michigan United Railways never built the necessary track.

The road continued to operate with steam throughout 1906 and into the spring of 1907. The Kalamazoo franchise not having been used, it apparently expired, for January, 1907, found Dunkley again knocking at the door of the city council for a new franchise. Having already issued two franchises which were never used, the city council apparently was wary of issuing a third, and apparently Dunkley never succeeded in convincing it otherwise.²²⁷

With no hope of a Kalamazoo franchise, and probably with little money to go on, the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Traction Company apparently gave up its hope of becoming an electric line and changed its name from *Traction Company* to *Railway Company*. At about the same time, it began to call itself the Fruit Belt Line,²²⁸ probably because it had hopes of handling a considerable amount of the freight from the fruit-growing areas of Lawton and Paw Paw.

Nothing more was done on the construction of the South Haven end during 1906, probably because of lack of funds. Probably the line in operation from Kalamazoo to Paw Paw was doing little to earn its keep either. Obviously, if the line was to make money, it would have to be extended to South Haven, especially since Dunkley and Williams owned a fleet of boats waiting for the little trains to bring eager residents of Kalamazoo over for the lake trip to Chicago.

²²⁵Harold Blair to the author, November 15, 1953.

²²⁶Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, May 18, 1906.

²²⁷Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, January 22, 1907.

²²⁸Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, January 25, 1907.

We must recall also that the Pere Marquette Railroad Company was continuing to operate the South Haven and Eastern Railroad at a loss and would probably be glad to get this lemon off its hands. Here was an obvious marriage of convenience. Dunkley needed a line to South Haven, the Pere Marquette did not.

On April 9, 1907,²²⁹ the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway Company leased the South Haven and Eastern line from the Pere Marquette for \$20,000 a year.²³⁰ With this announcement Dunkley was ready with glowing plans of the wonderful future in store for the Fruit Belt Line. The plans were to run trains between Kalamazoo and South Haven via Lawton—a distance of sixty miles—in one hour and twenty minutes; and to offer a lower rate than the Kalamazoo and South Haven branch of the Michigan Central between these two points, regardless of what fare the rival railroad established. The one-way fare between Kalamazoo and Chicago was to be \$1.50. A spur line was to be laid between the South Haven and Eastern and Paw Paw Lake. This was done in June, 1907, between Toquon and Paw Paw Lake.²³¹ A depot was to be built in Kalamazoo during the early summer. The depot was located eventually on West Main Street in Kalamazoo about one block closer to town than the old depot. The road was to be converted to third-rail electricity at an early date. This was never done. Five trains a day were to be run. The Fruit Belt Line acquired all the equipment and rolling stock of the South Haven and Eastern, including the depots and the South Haven terminal. It was noted that the engines were better than those of the Michigan Central's South Haven branch and the coaches were about as good. The regular schedule of five trains daily was to be put in force May 15, 1907. Other changes were to be the construction of a new \$10,000 depot at South Haven and the remodeling of one of the Dunkley-Williams boats, the *City of South Haven*, to provide for a dance floor. The new track recently laid on the Calico grade was to be torn up, since the South Haven and Eastern ran from Lawton to Paw Paw and the line was no longer needed. The iron removed here was probably used to construct the four and one-half mile

²²⁹Kalamazoo Telegraph, April 12, 1907.

²³⁰Ivey, *The Pere Marquette*, 281-82.

²³¹Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission to the Governor of the State of Michigan for the year 1907, 54.

Paw Paw Lake branch. The Kalamazoo *Telegraph* noted that the opening of traffic to Chicago by a line competing with the Michigan Central would mean much to Kalamazoo in cutting rates and handling larger volumes of freight. In the past boats had filled the Michigan Central warehouses at South Haven so full they could not hold any more. Now with the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago running into South Haven, its cars would run right into the boatshed and loading and unloading would be done directly.²³²

Any advantages which Kalamazoo business people hoped to obtain by the opening of the Fruit Belt Line to South Haven were purely imaginary. Until the line could connect with other railroads and industries in Kalamazoo, it could not handle any but less-than-carload lots of freight. And to connect with other railroads meant it would have to have trackage rights over the Michigan Central, as this was the only way it could get its engines into town. However, the Michigan Central refused to let it have these rights, which left the Fruit Belt Line stuck on the west side of Kalamazoo. A switching railroad, the Chicago and Kalamazoo Terminal Railroad, was in the process of being promoted at this time, whose aim was to bring the Pere Marquette system into Kalamazoo by connecting the Fruit Belt Line with the downtown areas.²³³ Although a portion of this line was built on the north side of town which later became part of the Grand Trunk Western Railroad in Kalamazoo, no track was ever built west to the Fruit Belt Line.

The Fruit Belt Line could neither be a freight road nor an electric line, so it was forced to go on with what it had. Its five trains a day fell to three in 1908.²³⁴ It had a decent freight business only during the fruit season.²³⁵ Its equipment and motive power fell into disrepair, its station facilities became deplorable (at best they had been none too good), and even if it made not a cent it still had to pay \$20,000 a year for the lease of the South Haven and Eastern from the Pere Marquette.

On June 11, 1911, the property was leased to the Michigan United Railways for a period of five years, and what had started

²³²Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, April 12, 1907.

²³³Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, May 14, 1907.

²³⁴*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), February 14, 1908.

²³⁵*Third Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission for the Year Ending December 31, 1909*, 44 (Lansing, 1910).

out as a local company became a foreign one. New York and Philadelphia names appeared on its board of directors. The Michigan Railroad Commission said: "With the change in the management we hope to find much improvement in the general condition of this property on the next annual inspection."²³⁶ The Michigan United Railways apparently hoped to electrify the line and thus to complete the dream of an interurban clear across the state.

But the Michigan United Railways was also having financial difficulties and a change in management was in the offing. In 1912 the Michigan United Traction Company took control of the Michigan United Railways through ownership of stock²³⁷ and it was stated that under the new management the Fruit Belt Line would be electrified. The *True Northerner* commented:

We have chased the will o' the wisp [electrification] at intervals during the last five years and so many disappointments have overtaken us that we are sceptical as to the results, but this . . . reads fair and sounds genuine. . . . The people along the line from South Haven to Kalamazoo, who are used to grasping straws, will hail with delight any authentic news that may come to them bearing upon this subject, which has been looked upon by many as a joke heretofore.²³⁸

Nothing came of these expectations, as usual. In 1914 the Fruit Belt Line was returned to its owners of 1909.²³⁹ The Michigan United Traction Company probably found the road no more profitable than its owners had.

The Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway continued to operate inauspiciously throughout the years 1914 to 1923. Although it provided reasonably good service to the people on its line (at least it was better than no railroad at all), it probably made little if any money. Automobile, bus, and truck traffic were increasing; highways were improved; and this competition took its inevitable toll. The road, which never had a real chance to show its merit, began to fall apart at the seams. Its largest fixed charge, the \$20,000 a year to the Pere Marquette for the South Haven and Eastern lease, had

²³⁶*Fifth Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission for the Year 1911*, 98 (Lansing, 1912).

²³⁷*Seventh Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission for the Year 1913*, 95 (Lansing, 1914).

²³⁸*The True Northerner* (Paw Paw), February 23, 1912.

²³⁹*Tenth Annual Report of the Michigan Railroad Commission for the Year 1916*, 88 (Lansing, 1917).

to go first. On July 1, 1923, the Pere Marquette resumed operations of the South Haven and Eastern.²⁴⁰ The Fruit Belt Line would continue, however, to run trains from Kalamazoo to Lawton.

On August 7, 1923, the directors of the Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway Company filed a petition for dissolution and receivership.²⁴¹ However, the road continued to operate, and even went so far as to reduce its round trip fare from Lawton to Kalamazoo to eighty-five cents,²⁴² apparently with the hope of attracting enough patronage to pay off part of its debts. However, before a month was out, the line was applying to the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon the entire line,²⁴³ and the road was finally closed in 1924. Since the Lawton to Kalamazoo stretch paralleled the Michigan Central Railroad most of the way, the abandonment probably hurt the people of Lawton little, but Paw Paw was left with only the South Haven and Eastern to serve it and no direct connection with Kalamazoo.

The receivership dragged on through six years in which the equipment was sold, the ties and rail torn up and sold, and the right-of-way, so hard to come by, was practically given away. The right-of-way from Kalamazoo to Mattawan was sold to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company²⁴⁴ which still uses it for its telephone cables. A portion of this right-of-way is also used as a bridle path. The right-of-way from Mattawan to Newbre Crossing is now weeds; that from Newbre to Lawton, a dirt road. The old Calico grade which had been abandoned much earlier, is still evident, wandering across the dry, sandy soil between Lawton and Paw Paw. Part of it is now used as a dirt road. The iron on the Lawton to Kalamazoo line was sold to a Cuban railroad.²⁴⁵ After all property had been liquidated and all creditors satisfied, the receiver was discharged. This was on July 3, 1929.

The Pere Marquette continued to run the South Haven and Eastern, however. Although the date is not known, passenger service

²⁴⁰Lawton Leader, June 28, 1923.

²⁴¹Van Buren County Clerk, Chancery Journal M.

²⁴²Lawton Leader, November 29, 1923.

²⁴³Lawton Leader, December 13, 1923.

²⁴⁴Kalamazoo County Register of Deeds, liber 236, page 502.

²⁴⁵Harold Blair to the author, November 15, 1953.

was probably abandoned sometime in the early 1930's. Freight continued to move over the road from Lawton through Paw Paw to Hartford and then over the Pere Marquette tracks to Benton Harbor. But freight fell off to a trickle of eighty cars in 1941. With traffic on this stretch down to little or nothing and the war demanding all the scrap steel available, the Pere Marquette abandoned the line from Lawton to Paw Paw and took up the tracks on this stretch in 1942. The last train to run from Paw Paw to Lawton was on October 13, 1942, and the road which had started out as a wheezy old Vulcan and creaky old caboose and took Paw Paw's people and produce to the Michigan Central was gone. After all, trucks could handle Paw Paw's kind of freight better than trains.

The Pere Marquette, which is now owned by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, continues to operate the line west from Paw Paw, with three freight trains running a week, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. A diesel labeled Chesapeake and Ohio now pulls the cars, but the caboose still says Pere Marquette, and one of the brakemen has worked on this line for thirty-five years. The Chesapeake and Ohio is probably losing money on this branch (although no figures are available), but then this railroad never made money, so who cares? Paw Paw no longer cares, for, with the large motor trucks on the highways, and with good highways everywhere, railroad service is not as vital to a small town in Michigan as it was from the 1850's to the 1920's.

In its early years the railroad was an indispensable aid to the commerce of Paw Paw, and without it this village would probably be much less significant than it is today in the commerce of Van Buren County. Credit must be given to the businessmen of Paw Paw and vicinity who suffered financial losses to build and operate the road so that they (and Paw Paw) could be provided with rail transportation.

The Civil War Diary of David Allen Richards

Edited with an Introduction by Frederick D. Williams

IN THE 1830'S THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES left the northeastern part of the United States and settled in the upper part of the Old Northwest. In this decade about 181,000 people, mostly from New England and New York, migrated to Michigan. In this great westward movement was David Allen Richards who in 1837, at the age of sixteen, left his native state of New York with his parents and settled with them in Richmond, Macomb County.¹ While living in Richmond, where for some time he taught school, Richards fell in love with and married Eliza Ann Finch.² This marriage was blessed with six children, four sons and two daughters, all of whom survived their father.³

Shortly after his marriage Richards joined the Methodist Episcopal Church; but his affiliation with this denomination was ephemeral, for he soon became dissatisfied with the government of the church and with its failure to take a strong stand against slavery. For these

¹David Allen Richards was born in Warsaw, Wyoming County, New York, on December 6, 1820. He was the son of Anson and Sophia Richards, who were natives of that state. Microfilm copy in the Michigan State Library of the *Federal Census of 1850* (population), Ross, Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 309, in the National Archives, (hereafter cited as *Federal Census of 1850*) lists the following people as living with D. A. Richards and family: Anson Richards, 52; Sophia Richards, 50; Clarissa Richards, 19; and Mary Richards, 13. For some of my information I have relied on an obituary of D. A. Richards in *Record of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America*, 4:249-50. These important church documents, cited hereafter as *Conference Record*, are in the University of Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor.

²Eliza Ann Finch was the daughter of Darius and Ann Finch who migrated to Michigan and established a residence in Kalamazoo County, probably in the late 1830's. Darius Finch was born in New York; his wife was a native of Maryland. The *Federal Census of 1850*, 300, lists the members of the Finch family. The *Federal Census of 1870* (population), Campbell, Ionia County, 15, shows that Darius Finch was living with D. A. Richards and family.

³The children of D. A. Richards were Amelia, Emory, Albert, Otis, Celia, and Frank. Brief notations on each of the children, except Frank, appear later. Frank was born in Kent County on August 7, 1863. He married Mary Alice Tanner, daughter of John and Julia Tanner of Marshfield, Ohio. The children of this couple are Maude G., now Mrs. Frank Sawall of Detroit, and Lucile E., now Mrs. Lucile Hathaway of Ann Arbor.

reasons he withdrew from that communion and in 1847 joined the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, in Ross, Kalamazoo County, where he was then residing. Richards began devoting all of his time to religion, received a license to preach, and was authorized to travel for and under the direction of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was ordained in 1858 and continued to work in the Michigan Conference until 1864, when he enlisted in the Union Army.⁴

As a private in the army Richards served most of his ten-month tour of active duty as a nurse in the hospitals of Forts Sumner and Reno near Washington, D. C. Although he was never an army chaplain, he was given several opportunities to preach to the soldiers and he frequently debated with his comrades on religious subjects. Richards probably initiated such discussions in order to deliver the Christian message to those who, in his opinion, needed spiritual and moral refreshment. Throughout his period of service in the army, Richards kept the diary which appears below. To the historian many of the entries are disappointing, for they contain little or nothing in the way of description or personal opinion. Richards witnessed the second inaugural of Abraham Lincoln but said nothing about the President's address; he shook hands with both Lincoln and General Ulysses S. Grant and merely recorded the fact; he mentioned visiting the Smithsonian Institution after the disastrous fire of 1865, but he was silent about what he saw; he made notations about the murder of Lincoln but said little about the manhunt for the assassins and nothing about John Wilkes Booth.

Yet the diary contains much to commend it as a significant historical document. Its pages reveal the hopes and fears of a devout individual who suddenly found himself in close association with fellow soldiers whose opinions and patterns of behavior contravened precepts of religion and morality which he held dear. The entries commending the work of agents of the Christian Commission were made by one well qualified to pass judgment. Recorded in the diary are the reflections of a man who, in the middle of his training for the battlefield, began to doubt his ability to develop into an effective combatant. The diary also depicts the drudgery of the unglamorous but essential work of a male nurse in hospital wards behind the lines.

⁴Conference Record, 4:249.

And last, but by no means least, one can glean from numerous entries how much a loving and devoted soldier-husband and -father appreciated letters from home.

Immediately after his discharge from the army, Richards made his home in Campbell, Ionia County, and returned to the ministry. During the next ten years he expanded the Campbell Circuit, organizing Wesleyan Methodist classes in Clarksville, East Berlin, and Saranac. Richards preached in the Campbell Circuit until 1875 when he moved with his family to Brighton.⁵ There he served for two years, preaching in both the Pleasant Valley and Brighton churches. In 1877 he returned to Campbell and served there until 1880, when he accepted a call to go as a home missionary to California. He was largely instrumental in organizing the California Conference, of which he became the first president. After working for three years in California, Richards received a second appointment to Brighton where he served from 1884 to 1889.⁶

From Brighton Richards moved to the Ingham charge, but poor health forced him to retire and in 1890 he was placed on the superannuated list. He remained inactive until September, 1891, when he answered a call from the Tompkins and Sandstone charge in Jackson County. This turned out to be his last pastorate. As poor health made it impossible for him to continue his work, he resigned in September, 1892, and returned to Campbell. In August, 1893,

⁵The Clarksville group was organized in 1865 and met every two weeks in Howard's Hall. John S. Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties, Michigan*, 213-14 (Philadelphia, 1881); Rev. E. E. Branch, *History of Ionia County, Michigan*, 1:97 (Indianapolis, 1916). It was probably in 1865 that Richards formed the East Berlin Wesleyan Methodist Class. In 1872, this group, which began with about twelve members, built a house of worship costing \$1,500. It was Berlin's first church. Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 187. The Wesleyan Methodist Class of Saranac was organized in April, 1874, and before the end of the year this group built and dedicated a church. Its original membership of sixteen had increased to thirty-five by late 1880. Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 205.

⁶The information on Richards at Brighton is from Hazel Clayton Haines, "Brighton Wesleyan Methodist Church: Brief History of the First Seventy-Five Years," reprinted from *The Brighton Argus*, n.d.; and from a pamphlet entitled "History of the Brighton Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1875-1940." These items are the property of Mrs. Lucile Hathaway of Ann Arbor. The information on the accomplishments of Richards in California is in the Conference Record, 4:249. For a brief account of the beginnings and early development of the Brighton Wesleyan Methodist Church, see Everts and Abbott (compilers and publishers), *History of Livingston Co., Michigan*, 208-10 (Philadelphia, 1880).

Richards suffered a paralytic stroke and death came three weeks later. He was buried from the Clarksville church on September 5, 1893.

Richards' activity in the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection dates back to the Civil War period. For over thirty years he helped promote the work of this organization, serving on its committees, endeavoring to develop a more efficient ministry, and striving to increase its membership and prestige. In recognition of his faithful service and ability as a leader, he was elected president of the Conference, which office he held from 1871-1873. In the opinion of one who knew him well, Richards "excelled in his work of pastoral visiting, and this, doubtless, was one secret of his success."⁷

In the interests of clarity the editor supplied most of the punctuation, for the diarist seldom used any, and also capitalized proper names when required. The original spelling has been retained and except for one entry, made before Richards entered the army, the complete diary is presented.

The Civil War diary of David A. Richards is the property of Mrs. Lucile E. Hathaway of Ann Arbor, a granddaughter of the diarist. To her and Mrs. Josie Knapp of Clarksville, a grandniece of Mr. Richards, I am indebted for information about the diarist's family. I wish to thank Mrs. Helen Everett, the Associate Editor of Michigan History, who helped collate the material in the diary, and Mr. John Lally of the Michigan State Library, who helped in the research.

The Federal Census of Michigan and the land and marriage records which I have cited, are in the Michigan State Library at Lansing.

⁷Conference Record, 4:249.

CIVIL WAR DIARY OF A MALE NURSE BEHIND THE LINES

SEPTEMBER 2, 1864 - JULY 1, 1865

David Allen Richards

Sept. 2d, 1864. Enlisted as a private Soldier in the 13th Michigan] Battery, Light Artillery.⁸

Sept. 3d. Came to the rendezvous at Jackson via of [sic] Detroit.

Sept. 4th, Sunday. Preached in the Barracks at Jackson.

Monday, Sept. 5th. Wrote several letters. Conversated with several persons on religious subjects. A rainy lonesome day.

Tuesday, Sept. 6th. Went to the city on a pass and purchased several articles of comfort and convenience for self and others in army life.

Wednesday, Sept. 7th. Spent in camp. Wrote a letter home. Read some and strolled about camp some, seeing and hearing enough at every turn to make one tremble for the wickedness of the People.

Thursday, Sept. 8th. Today we signed the pay roll and drew our bounty.⁹ In the evening wrote a letter home. Orders issued to start tomorrow for Washington.

⁸The Thirteenth Battery, First Michigan Light Artillery, was organized at Grand Rapids. It was mustered into service in January, 1864. Early the next month this unit was sent to Washington, D. C., where for the rest of the year it did garrison duty in several of the forts protecting the capital. The battery saw action for the first time in the summer of 1864 (this was before Richards enlisted), when a Confederate force under General Jubal Early struck at Washington. After the attack was repulsed the Thirteenth Battery resumed garrison duty until February 27, 1865, when it was mounted as cavalry and sent to help clear Maryland of guerrillas. In April, the battery participated in the hunt for Lincoln's assassins, and two months later it received orders to return to Michigan. It arrived in Jackson on June 22 and was discharged on July 1. The membership and service of the Thirteenth Battery is in *Record First Michigan Light Artillery Civil War: 1861-1865*, 42:237-54 (Kalamazoo, n.d.), of the series published under the direction of the Adjutant General of Michigan entitled *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865*. Cited hereafter as *Record First Michigan Light Artillery*. See also John Robertson (compiler), *Michigan in the War*, 368-69 (Lansing, 1880).

⁹A bounty was a sum of money paid to volunteers as a reward for enlisting in the Union Army. After May 1, 1864, the sum paid by the federal government was \$300 to new recruits and \$400 to veterans. In addition, each state offered a bounty, as did many local governments, city wards, and individuals. Ella Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War*, 139-42 (New York and London, 1928).

Friday, Sept. 9th. Left Jackson at about four o'clock P. M. Reached Detroit about ½ past eight. After a night ride on the *Morning Star*, reached Cleveland at daylight next morning.

Saturday, Sept. 10. Left Cleveland at about ½ past nine and reached Pittsburg, Penn[sylvania], about two next morning.

Sunday, Sept. 11th. Left Pittsburg about daylight and arrived at Harrisburg just after dark, and after a short stop and supper passed on toward Baltimore.

Monday, Sept. 12th. Reached Baltimore about sunrise. Took breakfast and started on for Washington where we arrived about five o'clock and took up our lodging for the night in the soldiers barracks. In the evening spoke to the soldiers on the subject of the soul's Salvation.

Tuesday, Sept. 13. Left Washington soon after breakfast for camp distribution. In the evening listened to a very poor sermon by the post Chaplain.

Wednesday, Sept. 14. Were ordered to be in readiness to leave for our Battery but were not called upon to do so. Spent the day in reading, writing, talking, eating, drinking and lounging.

Thursday, Sept. 15. A very pleasant day. Were expecting to leave camp for our Battery but waited all day and no orders came. Spent most of the day in writing letters. Heard a very good sermon in the evening. At the close several forward for prayer.

Friday, Sept. 16. Two weeks since I enlisted. It has passed rapidly away. Today we left camp Distribution. Marched down to Washington and through some of the principal streets. Had a good view of the President's house, passing and repassing it. About five o'clock took the boat for Fort Foote where we now are.¹⁰

Saturday, Sept. 17. Spent in camp at Fort Foote but little to do. Wrote a letter home; wrote another for a comrade.

Sunday, Sept. 18th, 1864. Still in Fort Foote. Was invited be [by] the Sergeant to preach and expected to have done so, but the officer of the day so occupied the time that no opportunity offered. Read some, wrote two letters and passed the day as best we could. Oh, how sin abounds!

¹⁰Fort Foote, Maryland, was situated on the east bank of the Potomac River about eight miles south of Washington. It was one of approximately sixty forts which protected the capital. For a map of the defenses of Washington, see Francis Trevelyan Miller (editor), *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, 5:2 (New York, 1911).

Monday, Sept. 19th. The day passed as usual in camp. Drilled some, wrote some letters, read some and strolled about camp.

Tuesday, Sept. 20th. Left Fort Foote at ½ past eight o'clock. Had a very pleasant boat ride to Washington, then with baggage train to Fort Stevens, passing Fort[s] Bunker Hill, Slemmer, and Totten.¹¹

Wednesday, Sept. 21st. Spent the day as usual in camp. Read some, wrote some, drilled some, and strolled about camp.

Thursday, Sept. 22d. The day passed as usual. Drill Morning and afternoon. Wrote a letter for a comrade and went to my bunk with a sad heart made sad by the wickedness around me.

Friday, Sept. 23d. The fore part of the day passed as usual. Wrote a letter to the Mich[igan] Conf[erence], soon to meet at Leoni.¹² In the afternoon while drilling, orders came to break camp and prepare for a march. Started about five o'clock and about 8 o'clock reached Fort De Russey [sic] where we now are.¹³

Saturday, Sept. 24th. Was detailed today to act as an assistant ordnance sergeant. Duties rather light and not as unpleasant to me as drilling or lying around in camp.

Sunday, Sept. 25th. No religious services in camp though several expressed a desire to hear a sermon. Our officers are a class of men who have no fear of God before their eyes. Spent the day in reading, writing, strolling and regretting the utter recklessness which reigns in our camp.

Monday, Sept. 26. This day passed as usual in camp. The duties light and not very unpleasant. Considerable time to read and write.

¹¹Fort Stevens, a bastion of vital importance in the defenses of Washington, was situated about five and one-half miles north of the city on the Seventh Street Road. From this key position there was a string of forts which ran along the crest of an irregular ridge southeastward to the East Branch of the Potomac River. They were, starting from the river, Forts Lincoln, Thayer, Saratoga, Bunker Hill, Slemmer, Totten, and Slocum, the latter being adjacent to Fort Stevens.

¹²In October, 1864, the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church held its twenty-second annual meeting in Leoni. The letter from Richards was read to the delegates, who voted to reply with "a fraternal letter in the name of the Conference" and to forward to Richards "a certificate of his fitness to fill the office of chaplain should a vacancy occur in his regiment." Conference Record, 2: no pagination.

¹³One mile west of Fort Stevens and just west of Rock Creek stood Fort DeRussy. These two forts were the northernmost bastions in the defensive network protecting the nation's capital.

Tuesday, Sept. 27th. The day passed as usual with me though it was rather a hard day for some of the unruly ones of our company who were out last night without leave. [They] were taken up by the patrol and placed in the guard house till morning and then set to marching back and forth in front of the barracks with a heavy load on their backs and kept at it most of the day. The way of the transgres[s]or is hard.

Wednesday, Sept. 28th. The fore part of the day passed as usual. In the afternoon while drilling or rather just as drill was dismissed, orders came to march. We of course knew not where but after marching till quite late in the evening without supper, we found ourselves at Fort Sumner on the Potomac, some seven miles above Washington.¹⁴ Ate a little hard tack and went to our bunk and slept very well till morning.

Thursday, Sept. 29th. Today for the first time had to shoulder a musket and do guard duty. In the afternoon went on picket some three miles from camp. Staid out all night with little chance to sleep. Sick nearly all night with cholera morbus. Feel some better this morning but am very weak.

Friday, Sept. 30th. We remained on Picket all of this day also. During the day called on two citizens living near our post. Found them to be very ignorant though quite friendly. Remained on picket again all night.

Saturday, Oct. 1st. Were relieved from picket about nine o'clock, reached the fort about ten, and spent the remainder of the day in reading, resting, and shaving preparatory to the sabbath.

Sunday, Oct. 2d. Was spent in camp very much like those that have preceded it though rather more quiet. In the evening a few of us met at the orderly's quarters and had a very good time singing spiritual songs. Think some were enabled to sing with the spirit and with the understanding.

Monday, Oct. 3d. Nothing remarkable occur[r]ing in camp. In the afternoon was detailed to take some prisoners to Fort Reno,¹⁵ a distance of about 3 miles.

¹⁴Fort Sumner, Maryland, was situated on the left bank of the Potomac River about seven miles above Washington. It stood just outside the District of Columbia and was the northwesternmost fort of the capital's defenses.

¹⁵Fort Reno, originally Fort Pennsylvania, was on the Rockville Road about six miles northwest of Washington and three miles east of Fort Sumner.

Tuesday, Oct. 4th. Was detailed as one of the camp guard[s], two hours on and four off for twenty-four hours. The worst part of guard duty to me is staying in the guard room with a gang of rowdies while off guard.

Wednesday, Oct. 5th. Today I commenced learning the artillery drill. Have not much fancy for it or any other drill. Don't hardly think I was ever intended for a soldier.

Thursday, Oct. 6th. Spent the day as usual. In the evening had an opportunity to stand up for Jesus, which I endeavored to improve.

Friday, Oct. 7th. Today was on guard. In the evening it was rumored that guerillas were near the fort. Pickets were sent out.

Saturday, Oct. 8th. A quiet day in camp. In the evening we had quite a pleasant time in our barracks singing hymns and Patriotic songs. Much more pleasant than listening to cursing and noisy revelry.

Sunday, Oct. 9th. This sabbath was a green spot in our desert. We had a visit from an agent of the Christian Commission who preached us a gospel sermon.¹⁶ Had an opportunity to exhort at the close. It was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

Monday, Oct. 10th. This morning there is a very hard frost. The night was very cold. Am again detailed for guard. The day was very pleasant and the evening a beautiful moonlight. Wrote to Father Howe and Bro[ther] L. J. Francisco.¹⁷

¹⁶The Christian Commission was one of several church-supported organizations which worked among servicemen during the Civil War. This agency had delegates in the camps and on the field to distribute stores and clothing to the soldiers. Also working for the Christian Commission were volunteer ministers whose services consisted of preaching, "circulating good publications in the armies, encouraging and helping soldiers to communicate with their friends, giving aid to surgeons, and comfort to sick and dying soldiers." William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 457-58 (New York and London, 1930).

¹⁷Reverend Robert D. Howe (popularly known as Elder Howe), moved in 1846 to Orleans, Ionia County. He was for many years an Elder of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and served pastorates at the Grand Rapids and Flat River charges. Conference Record, 2: no pagination; Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 307, 308, 311. Levi J. Francisco was for a number of years quite active in the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Before the Civil War, Francisco served as pastor of the Ottawa charge. After the war he lived in Orleans, Ionia County, where in 1870 a Free Methodist Class was organized, a church built, and the Orleans Circuit established. This circuit included the First Free

Tuesday, Oct. 11th. Nothing unusual occur[r]ed today. We have three drills a day and dress parade in the evening, all of which occupy about four hours. In the evening I had a very pleasant and profitable chat with comrade Theobold¹⁸ on the subject of religion.

Wednesday, Oct. 12th. This morning I was invited by our Quartermaster to preach to the soldiers next sabbath. He said he would see that the necessary arrangements were made. I gladly accepted the invitation. In the evening made a visit to the Hospital. Wrote a letter home today besides doing my washing.

Thursday, Oct. 13th. Got excused from duty in camp today for the purpose of going out to get some chicken for the sick in the hospital. Had quite a tramp. Finally found some very small ones for sale at fifty cents apiece. After this was accomplished, having some time unoccupied, took a stroll to see the stone bridge some three miles above. Found it to be indeed a curiosity of art. Dimensions: The stone bridge is of solid masonry spanning a space 222 feet at the base, and from the surface of the water to the top of the arch the height is 101 feet. On the top of this arch is an [sic] tunnel, made of brick, nine feet in diameter, through which the water, which is taken out of the Potomac some six miles above, passes on to Washington which is supplied with water by this means. This aqueduct or tunnel is covered with earth and makes a splendid wagon road to the city. It was commenced in 1853 and is not yet entirely completed.¹⁹

Friday, Oct. 14th. Today was again on guard. There is a rumor in camp that guerillas are near us. My post at night is on the

Methodist Church of Orleans and the First Free Methodist Church of Otisco, and Francisco was appointed preacher in charge. Conference Record, 2: no pagination; Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 310; J. D. Dillenback (compiler and publisher), *History and Directory of Ionia County, Michigan . . .*, 134 (Grand Rapids, 1872), lists Levi J. Francisco of 33 Orleans, Orleans.

¹⁸Richards is probably referring to John Thebold who enlisted at Detroit in the Thirteenth Battery. Thebold was mustered into service in October, 1863, and was discharged with Richards at Jackson on July 1, 1865. *Record First Michigan Light Artillery*, 252.

¹⁹The Aqueduct Bridge spanned the Potomac River about five miles below Fort Sumner. This structure was part of a project undertaken to provide for Washington an adequate supply of pure drinking water and better fire protection. There is a photograph of the Aqueduct Bridge in Miller (editor), *Photographic History*, 5:95.

parapet. Received tonight two letters from home from my two dear Boys.

Saturday, Oct. 15th. Today was general inspection; guns, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, clothing, barracks, all criticised. Tonight got three more letters from home. Two of them were the first that were written after my enlistment. One from Emory²⁰ and one from Amelia.²¹ They were just as good as new.

Sunday, Oct. 16th. Today we had religious services in our barracks again by an agent of the Christian Commission. Had been engaged to preach but willingly gave way for another. We had a very good sermon.

Monday, Oct. 17th. This day passed like those that have preceded it. About four hours drill during the day. Did my week's washing today and finished a letter to Emory.

Tuesday, Oct. 18th. Today was again on guard. Wrote a letter to Bro[ther] Fero.²² In the evening had quite a profitable conversa-

²⁰Emory A. Richards was the second child and eldest son of the diarist. He was born in Armada, Van Buren County, in 1845. Emory completed his high school education in Kent County, where for several years he taught school. In 1870, he married Mary M. Findley, daughter of John and Ann Findley of Ada, Kent County. In the same year he moved to Saranac, Ionia County, where for many years he was a successful dry goods merchant and druggist. Emory and Mary Richards had four children: Fred A., Elon A., Kate E., and Mary E. Chapman Bros. (compilers and publishers), *Portrait Biographical Album of Ionia and Montcalm Counties, Mich.*, 237-38 (Chicago, 1891); Sophie de Marsac Campau Chapter, D. A. R., and W. P. A. (compilers), *Marriage Records, Kent County, Michigan, 1845-1870* (typescript), 269 (Grand Rapids, n. d.); F. W. Beers (compiler and publisher), *Atlas of Ionia Co., Michigan . . .*, 103 (New York, 1875); P. L. Polk and Co. (compiler), *Michigan State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1875*, 672 (Detroit, 1875); *Federal Census of 1880* (population), Saranac, Ionia County, Michigan, 11.

²¹Born in 1843, Amelia E. Richards was the eldest child of D. A. Richards. In 1864, Amelia married Benjamin E. Collar, a farmer in Ada, Kent County. This couple had two children, Ernest and Anna, and for some time after the Civil War they resided in Boston Township, Ionia County. *Federal Census of 1850*, 309; Michigan W. P. A. (compiler), *Kent County, Michigan, Land Records, Grantors* (typescript), 308 (Grand Rapids, 1936-1940); *Federal Census of 1860* (population), Ada, Kent County, Michigan, 158; *Marriage Records, Kent County, Michigan*, 63; *Federal Census of 1880* (population), Boston Township, Ionia County, Michigan, 35.

²²After the Civil War Reverend C. G. Fero became active in the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1871, he, H. C. Hurlburt, and D. A. Richards became charter members of the First Michigan Wesleyan Conference for Mutual Improvement, which was later renamed the Ministerial Association for Mutual Improvement. The chief concern of this organization was to promote religious revivals and the work of the Sabbath Schools. Fero worked on many committees of the Michigan Conference and

tion with a comrade on the subject of religion. Oh Lord, revive thy Work!

Wednesday, Oct. 19. Came off guard at nine o'clock this morning. Drill at two in the afternoon. In the evening visited the hospital and conversed with several of the patients on the subject of religion. Wrote a letter home, etc.

Thursday, Oct. 20th. Nothing unusual occur[r]ing in camp today. Finished a letter and received one from home as well as two papers which were very Welcome.

Friday, Oct. 21st. The usual routine of camp duty occupied the day. The only remarkable thing that occur[r]ed was we had potatoes for dinner for the first time in over five weeks.

Saturday, Oct. 22d. Today was on guard though nearly sick with a hard cold. Wrote a letter home while off duty.

Sunday, Oct. 23d. No religious service in camp today. Should probably have tried to preach but am sick with a hard cold and cough a good deal.

Monday, Oct. 24. Am no better today but rather worse. Cough a good deal and have a severe head ache.

Tuesday, Oct. 25. Today we had a general inspection of guns, knapsacks, clothing, quarters, cook room, etc. Soon after inspection was over I was taken with a chill and was excused from duty for the remainder of the day.

Wednesday, Oct. 26. This morning I was detailed for guard. Went on and stood two hours but was so sick that I was excused for the remainder of the day.

Thursday, Oct. 27th. This morning I went to the doctor for medicine and was excused by the doctor from doing any duty for the day.

Friday, Oct. 28th. Today I am again excused from duty though I am a trifle better. Have been stopping cracks around my bunk to stop out the wind.

Saturday, Oct. 29th. Today am on light duty. My cough is very bad and my throat very sore. No appetite.

among the charges to which he was appointed are Hartwick, Hopkins, Ganges, Grand Rapids, Shiawassee, and Pipeston. There are numerous references to Fero in Conference Record, volumes 3 and 4; see also Charles Stephen Rennells, *History of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America* (typescript), 61 (Hickory Corners, 1940), in the University of Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor.

Sunday, Oct. 30th. Today I am excused from duty. My appetite is a little better but I am sick.

Monday, Oct. 31st. Today we mustered for our two months' pay. I am still sick.

Tuesday, Nov. 1st. Still on the sick list. Do a little light duty. Wrote a letter home.

Wednesday, Nov. 2d. Another sick day. Sore throat, cough, and no appetite. Don't suffer much pain only it hurts my throat to cough.

Thursday, Nov. 3d. The same old story though I am some better. Hope soon to report for duty.

Friday, Nov. 4th. Still on the sick list. Am getting very weak and appetite very poor.

Saturday, Nov. 5th. On the sick list yet but getting better. My cough is getting looser and I have eaten more than for some time.

Sunday, Nov. 6. Still sick. Had been invited to preach to the sick in the hospital but my throat is so sore and my cough so bad that I did not dare attempt it.

Monday, Nov. 7th. My health is improving slowly. My appetite is still very poor. A dull rainy day. No drill or dress parade.

Tuesday, Nov. 8th. Today is Election day in our camp. I was chosen as one of the inspectors of Election.²³ We worked till two o'clock the next morning and then adjourned with our duties unfinished.

Wednesday, Nov. 9th. Worked all day again in making out the Election returns. Finished our work about 8 o'clock in the evening. A Republican Majority of nineteen in our battery.²⁴

²³Five weeks before the presidential election of 1864, the Adjutant General issued an order defining the procedure to be followed in polling soldiers eligible to vote. Among other things, this order authorized the appointment of inspectors of elections whose duty was to see that free, fair, and orderly elections were conducted in the army. *War of the Rebellion: . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 3, volume 4:751-52 (Washington, 1900). Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. See also *The Detroit Free Press*, October 6, 1864.

²⁴In the campaign of 1864, the Republican party became the Union party and nominated Abraham Lincoln. It was the belief of Republicans that the new name, Union party, would have broad appeal and that Democrats who favored a vigorous war policy (War Democrats), would vote the Union ticket. Lincoln, of course, was reelected, defeating the Democratic candidate, George Brinton McClellan.

Thursday, Nov. 10. Felt quite well today—so well that though excused from duty I went out and drilled with the company after writing a letter home, but it was too much for me and I went to my bunk to spend the night in coughing.

Friday, Nov. 11th. This Morning I found Myself worse—so Much worse that the Doctor ordered me to the hospital, saying that I was threatened with lung fever.

Saturday, Nov. 12th. I am better this morning and the Doctor now pronounces my disease Bronchitis. I would much rather it should be that than lung fever.

Sunday, Nov. 13th. I think I am getting better, though I had no appetite for my breakfast this morning; but my cough is looser and my throat is not as sore. No religious services today but *The American Wesleyan* and *The Religious Monthly*,²⁵ received last night, furnished me with pleasant and profitable reading.

Monday, Nov. 14th. Still in the hospital and gaining Slowly. The soreness in my throat is the principal difficulty and I think that is gradually wearing away and my appetite is getting better.

Tuesday, Nov. 15th. In the hospital but so much better that today the Doctor set me to giving Medicine to the sick in our ward. Went to bed at night very tired.

Wednesday, Nov. 16th. Still in the hospital, gaining Slowly. Doing light duty. Giving Medicine to the sick in our ward during the day.

Thursday, Nov. 17. Feel about as well as usual today. My throat troubles me the most of any thing. Still helping nurse in our ward.

Friday, Nov. 18th. This morning I awoke hard sick as bad as I have been at any time. When the Doctor came in he expressed great surprise. Said he thought I would be well enough this morning to go back to the quarters. The Ward Master who accompanies the Doctor in his rounds told him that he did not want him to send me away at all. If I was [*sic*] willing he wanted me to stay

²⁵In the 1840's Methodists in Syracuse, New York, organized a Wesleyan society, erected a church, and established a publishing house where *The American Wesleyan* and *The Bible Standard and Religious Monthly* were printed. Richards is undoubtedly referring to these publications. See Matthew Simpson (editor), *Cyclopedia of Methodism* . . . , 846 (Philadelphia, 1878).

and act as nurse. I assented and the Doctor said he would fix it and keep me right along.

Saturday, Nov. 19th. Commenced today to do duty in Fort Sumner Hospital as a nurse. Find plenty to do.

Sunday, Nov. 20th. No religious services in Camp or Ward today. The Surgeon had requested Me to preach if I was able; but when the time came My throat and Lungs were in such a state it was altogether out of the question, much to my disappointment as well as others.

Monday, Nov. 21st. Am still doing duty as Nurse. It is a pretty heavy tax on me in my present state of health. Some of the patients very sick.

Tuesday, Nov. 22d. Nursing in the hospital yet, though I feel more like going to bed and being nursed.

Wednesday, Nov. 23d. The same old Story, sick and waiting on the sick. My appetite is poor, my throat is sore, and I have a bad cough.

Thursday, Nov. 24th. Thanksgiving day and oh, how much I see as an individual to be thankful for! My health is better today. We had an excellent dinner of chickens and other good things but little appearance of thankfulness, however, manifested by the great majority. The People seem here almost to have forgotten God!

Friday, Nov. 25th. Passed as usual with its regular routine of duties. My health is slowly improving, my appetite is better, but I am heart sick. Can this army ever succeed in putting down rebellion while themselves rebelling against God. The army seems to be bound fast in Satan's chain, led captive by him at his will. Drinking, gambling, stealing, swearing, licentiousness, all practiced and gloried in. The Captain swears, the Lieutenants swear, the officers so far as I know them all swear; the doctor swears, the nurse that is with me swears, the Steward swears, the ward master swears, the cooks swear, and many of the patients swear. Will God aid us through such means. My only hope is that, Conquer we must For our cause it is just. But it seems impious to appeal to God for aid while treating Him and His laws with such contempt. Is not God using these opposing armies as a scourge for their sins and the nation's. I can only bow low even at His feet and humbly pray: Oh Lord, in the midst of deserved wrath, remember Mercy.

Make the wrath of man to praise thee and the remainder of wrath wilt thou restrain.

Saturday, Nov. 26th. Still nursing the sick. I cough a great deal nights and gain strength very slowly.

Sunday, Nov. 27th. My throat is still very Sore, caused by hard coughing. Was invited by the Surgeon to preach in the ward but had to decline, which I much regret.

Monday, Nov. 28th. Went to Washington on a pass and got a box of nice things Sent from home. Got back to the hospital about 8 o'clock completely exhausted and went directly to bed.

Tuesday, Nov. 29th. Awoke this morning much refreshed and resumed my post as nurse. Last night Heman Train,²⁶ a member of our Battery, took his departure to the Spirit Land. The first that has died of my acquaintance since I joined The Battery. Poor Train, he suffered much, but we hope his sufferings are at an end.

Wednesday, Nov. 30. Today our company received marching orders. Word was sent to the hospital to have all that were able to march join the company at once, but I was not of the number and so was left behind.

Thursday, Dec. 1st. Continued trying to do the duties of nurse though it is a very heavy tax on my little strength. This evening received word that an Ambulance would be sent for us that were left the next morning.

Friday, Dec. 2d. This morning the ambulance came for us and about ten o'clock we reported at the hospital at Fort Reno. Oh, how good it seemed to me to get where I could lie down and rest in quiet without being called on every five minutes to wait on some one else. Toward evening had an ague chill.

Saturday, Dec. 3d. Had a very good night's rest and today feel some better. The Doctor's medicine is helping my cough, but my appetite is poor and I am very weak.

Sunday, Dec. 4th. Nothing unusual occur[r]ed today. I hear there were religious services Somewhere in camp but I was not able to go out. Wrote a letter home.

Monday, Dec. 5th. The day passed as usual. We eat our rations

²⁶ Heman (Herman W.) Train enlisted in the Thirteenth Battery on September 2, 1864. He was mustered into service five days later and joined his unit at Fort Foote, Maryland, on September 16. He died at Fort Sumner, Maryland, on November 29. *Record First Michigan Light Artillery*, 252-53.

if we can, take our medicine because we must, and pass the time in reading, writing, talking, and lounging.

Tuesday, Dec. 6th. Today I am forty-four years old and feeling several years older, though my health I think is gradually improving. My appetite is better but I cough a good deal yet and am very weak.

Wednesday, Dec. 7. Wrote a letter today to Andrew and Mary.²⁷ Am gaining strength slowly. My appetite is improving.

Thursday, Dec. 8th. Nothing unusual today. My health is gradually improving though quite slowly. Had a good night's rest last night.

Friday, Dec. 9th. One week ago today I came to Fort Reno. It has passe[d] very quickly away and I am very much better than when I came. Shall probably soon leave the hospital for the quarters.

Saturday, Dec. 10th. I am not quite as well today. Feel weak and languid. My food does not seem to strengthen me.

Sunday, Dec. 11th. Another week has passed and I am still in hospital and not quite as well as usual. We had a short address to the sick in our ward which was to me truly refreshing. It was food to my hungry soul. After the speaker had left, The men began to express their opinions and almost unconsciously I was drawn into a quite a [sic] lengthy conversation on the subject of religion, and at its close several told me they had made up their minds to lead a new life. May they be led by the spirit into all truth is my earnest prayer. Received a letter from Eliza.²⁸

Monday, Dec. 12th. Still in hospital, Weak and Languid. I eat my rations yet gain but little strength.

Tuesday, Dec. 13th. Another day in hospital. Nothing special occur[r]ed. Walked up to the sutlers and took my dirty clothes to the Washerwoman.

²⁷ Mary Richards, a younger sister of the diarist, married Andrew Merrill of Campbell, Ionia County. The Merrills, long-time residents of Campbell, were the parents of nine children: Anson, Frederick, Laura, Allen, Jennie, Lucy, Mary, Roa, and Annie. The only surviving member of this family is Mrs. Lucy M. Conklin who now lives in Miami, Florida. The *Federal Census of 1880* (population), Campbell, Ionia County, Michigan, 9, lists the names and ages of the members of the Merrill family. Mrs. Lucile Hathaway of Ann Arbor gave me the information about Mrs. Conklin in a letter of January 24, 1955.

²⁸ Richards is referring to his wife, whom I have identified in the introduction.

Wednesday, Dec. 14th. Am feeling some better today. Went to the quartermaster and drew an extra blanket. Wrote a letter home.

Thursday, Dec. 15th. Today was again detailed as nurse. Feel much better able to act in this capacity than when I commenced before. Commenced a letter to Otis²⁹ but did not finish it. Received one from Emory.

Friday, Dec. 16th. Finished and mailed my letter to Otis. Did my duty as nurse as well as I could. In the evening received a letter from Amelia.

Saturday, Dec. 17th. Today wrote a letter to Amelia. Did my duty as nurse. In the evening received a letter from Andrew and Mary.

Sunday, Dec. 18th. Another sabbath and no meeting. But little to do today. Wrote a letter to Andrew and Mary and spent much of the day in reading.

Monday, Dec. 19th. Still doing duty as nurse. Nothing unusual occur[r]ing. Received a letter from Ancelia³⁰ and one from Father Howe.

Tuesday, Dec. 20th. Today counts one more of hospital life. In the evening received a letter from Albert;³¹ wrote one to Ancelia.

Wednesday, Dec. 21st. Another day of nursing. Should get along with it very well but I have sores coming out on my feet like chilblains. It hurts me badly to walk. Wrote a letter to Ziba.³²

²⁹Otis S. Richards was the next to the youngest of the diarist's children. He became a merchant in Campbell and was one of the sixteen original members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Saranac when it was organized by his father in 1874. Branch, *History of Ionia County*, 1:97; Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 205. The *Federal Census of 1880* (population), Campbell, Ionia County, Michigan, 10, lists Otis Richards, 22, and Bertie Richards, his wife, 19.

³⁰Ann Celia (Ancelia) was the younger daughter of the diarist and was frequently called Celia. She married Benjamin Spencer and was the mother of three children: Frank, Alberta, and Cora. The Spencers were for many years residents of Oakland, California. *Federal Census of 1850*, 309; Conference Record, 4:250.

³¹Born in 1848, Albert A. Richards was the diarist's second son. He married Charlie McCormick of Campbell, who had migrated to Michigan from the state of New York. This couple were the parents of one child, Earl. They lived in Campbell for some time and later moved to Muskegon, where they resided for a number of years. *Federal Census of 1870* (population), Campbell, Ionia County, Michigan, 8, 15; Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 213; Conference Record, 4:250.

³²Ziba Finch was a brother of Eliza, the wife of D. A. Richards. He married one of the diarist's sisters whose Christian name is not clear. The *Federal*

Thursday, Dec. 22d. Today is inspection day. The surgeon from headquarters visited us, gave us credit for keeping things very nice.

Friday, Dec. 23d. Nothing new occurring. Am doing my duties as nurse as well as I can with a lame foot which troubles me exceedingly. Wrote a letter to Father Howe.

Saturday, Dec. 24th. Another day of hospital life passed in the usual routine of duties. In the evening received a letter from Br[other] Hurlburt.³³

Sunday, Dec. 25th. Christmas morning has come bright and beautiful. We are having an unusually quiet time in our ward today. But few patients and they are very quiet. Had a rice pudding for supper. Wrote a letter to Albert and another to Br[other] Hurlburt. No religious services in camp. A good day for reflection and self-examination.

Monday, Dec. 26th. This morning was ushered in by the firing of cannon and other tokens of rejoicing over the capture of Savannah [Georgia] by the forces under Gen[eral] Sherman.³⁴ This evening received a letter from Mary and wrote one in reply.

Tuesday, Dec. 27th. Another day of hospital life. The most interesting occur[r]ence of the day was [that] we had several quite animated discussions on the subject of the Bible and the Christian religion. I tried to vindicate them and hope it was not in vain. No letters.

Wednesday, Dec. 28th. Today was marked by nothing very un-

Census of 1860 (population), Campbell, Ionia County, Michigan, 3, lists her as Louisa. An undated and unsigned memorandum on the Darius Finch family, which is in the possession of Mrs. Lucile Hathaway of Ann Arbor, gives her name as Annie Laurie Richards. The diarist refers to her in later entries as "Laura." Ziba and "Laura" were the parents of one son, Ransom.

³³Reverend H. C. Hurlburt was one of several ministers who together with D. A. Richards became active in the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church during the Civil War period. In the years 1860-1865, Hurlburt received appointments to the Adams, Milford, Smyrna, Ada, and Grand Rapids charges, and after the war he served for a time as pastor of the church organized by Richards in East Berlin. *Conference Record*, 2: no pagination; Schenck, *Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 187.

³⁴On the night of December 20, 1864, Confederate troops evacuated Savannah and Federal forces under General John W. Geary occupied the city. General William T. Sherman arrived in Savannah on December 22 and at the suggestion of a United States Treasury agent sent a telegram to President Lincoln "presenting" Savannah as a Christmas gift. Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, 469-70 (New York, 1932); William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman*, 2:231-32 (New York, 1892).

usual. Received a letter from Br[other] Francisco and one from Wife, also two Magazines.

Thursday, Dec. 29th. One more day of my year and of my life passed. A day's march nearer home. Nothing remarkable to record. Health improving.

Friday, Dec. 30th. A very pleasant day. Much like a September day in Mich[igan]. In the evening got a letter from Clarrissa³⁵ [sic] and wrote an answer in return.

Sat., Dec. 31st. The last day of the year. A cold stormy day, real Winter. Several new patients to care for. This evening received a letter from Emory as also three papers from home, all highly prized.

Sunday, Jan. 1st, 1865. This morning a happy new year salutes me on every hand. The beginning is favorable. Health very good, duties not very heavy, enough to eat, drink, and wear, a thankful heart, and a good degree of quiet in the ward giving good opportunity for reading, writing, or reflection, with intervals of pleasant and I hope not unprofitable conversation. May the close of the year be as pleasant as its commencement with its varied duties well performed, is my earnest prayer.

Monday, Jan. 2d. Four months since I enlisted; one-third of my term, about one-half spent in the hospital. The surgeon told me today that he wanted me to stay here as a nurse. It is more pleasant in cold weather than drilling and doing guard duty in camp.

Tuesday, Jan. 3d. The same old story; nursing in Hospital. Duties today rather heavy. One man very sick. Have to be up nights a good deal. Health very good.

Wednesday, Jan. 4th. Today has been a very busy day with me. A good deal to do in hospital. A cold stormy day.

Thursday, Jan. 5th. Today has been a very busy day with me. One very sick patient requiring almost constant care. And a good share of what little leisure time I have [is] taken up in defending the Bible and Christianity against the attacks of some skeptics who are at present inmates of our ward.

Friday, Jan. 6th. A very quiet though a very stormy day. Health

³⁵Clarissa Richards was a sister of D. A. Richards and is referred to later in the diary as "Clara." She was born in New York in 1831 and undoubtedly came to Michigan with her parents in 1837. Clarissa Richards is listed in the *Federal Census of 1850*, 309.

good, appetite good, and taken as a whole circumstances very favorable. No letters for nearly a week.

Saturday, Jan. 7th. Today I had a man appointed to assist me in the ward. Received a letter from Ziba and Laura, also one from Benjamin and Amelia. Today also I was detailed from headquarters for hospital service, an event highly gratifying to me. Wrote a letter to my dear Eliza.

Sunday, Jan. 8th. Nothing new or strange today. No meeting but very good order in our ward. Plenty of time to read. Wrote a letter to Benjamin and Amelia. Got no letters.

Monday, Jan. 9th. Had a hard day's work cleaning the ward. Had several new patients come in, some of them very sick. Wrote to Zibe and Laura. Received no letters today.

Tuesday, Jan. 10th. Another hard day's work. Ward nearly full and some of them very sick, requiring almost constant care. No letters.

Wednesday, Jan. 11th. Nothing special to record today but hard work and night watching.

Thursday, Jan. 12th. Another day of nursing and night watching. This evening received a letter from Br[other] and S[iste]r Fero. Nothing special to record.

Friday, Jan. 13th. I begin to feel the effects of night watching but today is cleaning day and I have to take hold of the work as my assistant is sick. In the evening received a letter from Emory and at night wrote one in return.

Saturday, Jan. 14th. The same old story. Our ward is nearly full and some of them very sick. One young man, I fear, will not live till morning.

Sunday, Jan. 15th. Nothing new. No religious services in the hospital. A very sick man in our ward; taking care of him occupies the most of my time. This evening received four letters—one from Eliza, one from Mr. Clark, one from Br[other] Sanderson,³⁶ and one from Otis.

³⁶Richards is probably referring to A. S. Clark and A. Sanderson who were parishioners in the Smyrna Circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Smyrna was the charge of D. A. Richards from 1860-1863, and it was probably during these years that he became acquainted with these people. My only information on Clark and Sanderson is from a sketchbook which Richards kept in the 1860's. In it their names appear as presented above, and the

Monday, Jan. 16th. Had a hard day's work today and set [sic] up nearly all night. Received a letter from Almira.

Tuesday, Jan. 17th. Nothing new in our ward worth recording. Good news from the army. Fort Fisher³⁷ taken by our army and navy. A national salute is being fired in Washington.

Wednesday, Jan. 18. The same old story, nothing more and nothing less. No letters.

Thursday, Jan. 19th. And still there's nothing new. The day passes like others. Ward nearly full; rather a busy time. In the evening received a letter from Clara. At night wrote to the Wesleyan office, also to Albert and to Uri and Almira.³⁸

Friday, Jan. 20th. Last night a man died in one of the wards. Today we had a thorough cleaning of our ward. This evening I received a letter from Br[other] Townsend.³⁹ Tonight I wrote to Brother Sanderson.

Saturday, Jan. 21st. Today I went to Washington. Visited the Capitol. Its vastness and its grandeur must be seen to be appreciated. Visited both halls of congress and saw what of interest was to be seen. At night wrote a letter to Br[other] Fero. Cold and Stormy.

references indicate that they were members of the Smyrna Circuit. The sketchbook is the property of Mrs. Lucile Hathaway of Ann Arbor. It is not paginated.

³⁷Fort Fisher, North Carolina, guarded the harbor of Wilmington, a port of great importance to the Confederacy in that Lee's Army of Northern Virginia relied chiefly upon supplies landed there by Confederate blockade runners. On January 13-15, 1865, a large Union armada under Admiral David D. Porter, together with a military force under General Alfred H. Terry, reduced and captured Fort Fisher. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (editors), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4:642-62 (New York, 1884-1888). See also David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War*, 683-747 (New York, 1886).

³⁸Almira, a sister of the diarist's wife, married Uriah P. Merrill. This couple had two children, Eva and Walter. Undated and unsigned memoranda on the Darius Finch family. The *Federal Census of 1860* (population), Ross, Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 20, lists this couple and their daughter as residing with Darius and Ann Finch, the parents of Almira.

³⁹Richards is probably referring to G. W. Townsend who served over thirty years as a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Michigan. Among the charges to which he was appointed from 1860-1890 were Kalamazoo, Jefferson, Grand Rapids, Noble, Holland and Olive, and Orangeville. Townsend usually attended the annual meetings of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and he served on many committees of that organization. There are numerous references to Townsend in Conference Record, volumes 2, 3, and 4.

Sunday, Jan. 22d. This morning the ground is covered with a coat of ice about an inch thick. It is almost impossible to get around. No meeting today, though our ward is very quiet. A good time to read and write and for self-examination.

Monday, Jan. 23d. Nothing new today with us. A little work during the day and watching with the sick one-half the night. Plenty of time to read and write. Tonight received a letter from Andrew and Mary as also one from V. R. Smith.⁴⁰ Wrote to Br[other] Smith in reply.

Jan. 24th, Tuesday. Nothing new with us. This afternoon I hear that the Smithsonian Institute was burned—a national loss that cannot be repaired.⁴¹

Wednesday, Jan. 25th. This day passed as usual. Several sick men came in at night. Had to sit up most of the night.

Thursday, Jan. 26th. This morning I feel rather old. Being up nights so much is wearing on me. Today received a box of good things from Clara and Mary. Wrote a letter to Mary and Andrew at night.

Friday, Jan. 27th. A full ward this morning and plenty to do. Weather very cold. No letters today. At night wrote to Philetus and Clara.

Saturday, Jan. 28th. A real cold Winter day as indeed it has been for a week and more. Very cold indeed for the sunny south that we have heard so much about. No letters from home for nearly two weeks. Received one from Father Howe.

Sunday, Jan. 29th. This morning a young man Died very suddenly in our ward either of measles or small pox, we don't know which. It made quite an impression on the sick men in the ward. I hope it may lead them to prepare for that solemn event. Today

⁴⁰V. R. Smith was a parishioner of the Smyrna charge during the pastorate of D. A. Richards. Smith was active in promoting temperance and apparently contributed regularly to various Wesleyan funds. Sketchbook of D. A. Richards.

⁴¹On January 24, 1865, workmen were on the second floor of the Smithsonian Institution rearranging Indian paintings. As it was a cold, windy day, they brought in a stove. In setting it up they accidentally connected the stovepipe to a ventilating shaft instead of the chimney flue! The result was a fire that soon raged beyond control and burned out the whole second floor, destroying practically all of the art collection. This disaster was a major setback to art as a national enterprise. Webster Prentiss True, *The Smithsonian Institution*, 128 (New York, 1929). See also Webster Prentiss True, *The Smithsonian, America's Treasure House*, 239-40 (New York, 1950).

heard a sermon from the chaplain of the 1st N[ew] H[ampshire] Regiment. Quite an ordinary affair.

Monday, Jan. 30th. Passed as usual. A full ward and plenty to do. No letters. Wrote one to Father Howe.

Tuesday, Jan. 31st. The last day of Jan[uary], so the months are passing away. No letters from home yet. Received one from Br[other] L. J. Francisco. Wrote one to my family.

Wednesday, Feb. 1st. Nothing new or strange occur[ing] today. No letter from home. Received one from Br[other] Francisco. Wrote to him at night.

Thursday, Feb. 2d. Passed as the preceding. No letters from home. Received one from Br[other] Townsend.

Friday, Feb. 3d. And still no news from Home. A full ward of sick men to care for.

Saturday, Feb. 4th. And still no letters from home. What can it mean. I am nearly tired out and half sick with night Watching.

Sunday, Feb. 5th. Another day of nursing and sick at that. No religious service today. No letters. Feel rather lonely. At night was relieved by another taking my place as a night watcher.

Monday, Feb. 6th. Feel some better this morning but it is cleaning day and the work is quite hard. No letters yet. At night wrote one home.

Tuesday, Feb. 7th. Today the doctor pronounced the disease of one of our patients varioloid. Some in the ward are a good deal frightened. For myself, I feel willing to trust myself in the hands of God.

Wednesday, Feb. 8th. Today the man with varioloid was taken away to the Small pox hospital. I have a new helper today and am in hopes to have a little easier time; and besides, he is a Christian and I promise myself much enjoyment in his companionship.

Thursday, Feb. 9th. Am almost sick today yet have to keep doing as our ward is nearly full of sick men who must be cared for. We had a visit from two agents of the Chris[tian] Com[mission] today. A short talk and a prayer. It was refreshing indeed. No letters.

Friday, Feb. 10th. Another day of nursing and another night of watching. And still no letters from home. Wrote one at night to Eliza.

Saturday, Feb. 11th. Passed the forenoon in hospital service. In the afternoon went to Georgetown on business. A hard day's work and a very sick man to watch with at night. No letters yet from home. Rec[eive]d one from Br[other] and Sister Fero.

Sunday, Feb. 12th. And still no letters from home. Tonight we commence having regular evening prayer in our ward. Hope it may be a means of good to many if not all of us. Another death in our ward today.

Monday, Feb. 13th. A very remarkable event occur[r]ed in our ward today. I actually received a letter from home, a whole sheet of note paper written nearly all over. Nothing so strange has happened for a long time.

Tuesday, Feb. 14th. One more day of hospital service; one less to serve for Uncle Sam. Received a letter from Benjamin and Amelia and answered it at night.

Wednesday, Feb. 15th. This is cleaning day. Worked hard in the forenoon, duties light in the afternoon. At night wrote to Albert, also to Br[other] J. T. Hewitt.

Thursday, Feb. 16th. Sweeping house, making beds, building fires, giving medicine, dressing wounds, &c., &c., make up the duties of the day. No letters. Wrote one at night to Br[other] and Sister Fero.

Friday, Feb. 17th. Another day very much like others that have gone before it has passed away. Rec[eive]d a letter from Emory, also four papers.

Saturday, Feb. 18th. General cleaning day. Work very hard today but feel well nevertheless. Rec[eive]d a letter at night from Wife and Albert.

Sunday, Feb. 19th. This morning I was invited to make a few remarks on the subject of religion to the men in our ward and am feeling so much better that I consented and hope the labor was not in vain. At night received and answered a letter from Emory.

Monday, Feb. 20th. Another day of nursing and another night of watching. Got a letter from Br[other] L. J. Francisco.

Tuesday, Feb. 21st. A day of solemnity for a large part of it was passed by the bedside of a dying man, T. Powers, who breathed his last at about 3 o'clock.

Wednesday, Feb. 22d. Washington's Birthday celebrated by the firing of a national salute in all the principal forts around Washington. Nothing new in our ward.

Thursday, Feb. 23d. Nothing worthy of note occur[ing] with us today. Last night the garrison was aroused but it was a false alarm. No letters today.

Friday, Feb. 24th. Today I am left without help, my assistant having gone away on business. Feel well. Nothing new. No letters.

Saturday, Feb. 25th. The day passed as usual. At night received a letter and a pair of Stockings from my Beloved Eliza.

Sunday, Feb. 26th. A very quiet peaceful Sabbath. We had religious services in our ward at eleven o'clock as well as prayer in the evening. Wrote to Eliza in the evening.

Monday, Feb. 27th. Today I went to Washington, visited the Patent Office, Smithsonian Institute, and both halls of congress. Spent some time in listening to their deliberations. Today orders came for our company to move. They are to be mounted as cavalry scouts. Received a letter from Mary.

Tuesday, Feb. 28th. Today [the men in] our company drew Their horses, carbines, and revolvers. In the evening we were mustered for another two months' pay but no pay comes yet. I am still in the hospital as nurse. No letters from home.

Wednesday, March 1st. This morning [the men in] my detachment were sent out as cavalry scouts to scour the country in search of Rebels or guerillas but I am still left in the hospital as nurse. No letters today.

Thursday, March 2d. Six months ago today I enlisted as a soldier in the Union army. I can hardly realize that I have been six months from home. It seems like a dream. I have been able to preach but very few times. My other duties have been rather light. On the whole I have been very highly favored. No letters today.

Friday, March 3d. Today the camp is full of rumors of a rebel raid into Maryland. Extra scouts are sent out. No letters today. Received some papers from Syracuse.

Saturday, March 4th. Today was a great day in Washington and as I was so near there through the kindness of our Surgeon, I was permitted to be a spectator if not a participator. President Lincoln

was Inaugurated for his second term.⁴² The crowd was vast and the ceremonies imposingly grand. In the evening there was a public reception at the White House which was attended by a vast crowd, not one half of whom could be admitted. I was one of the fortunate ones. Saw much of the house which for splendor exceeds by far anything and all that I ever saw before. Spoke to and shook hands with the President. Listened to some choice music for about an hour and returned home (no, not home), but to Fort Reno hospital about eleven o'clock. Found two letters, one from wife and one from Albert. Sat up the remainder of the night writing to my dear Eliza, writing over the whole of two sheets of paper. Am feeling quite well.

Sunday, March 5th. Today has been a very quiet peaceful day, a good time for reading and reflection. In the evening in connection with our evening worship, [I] spoke for a few minutes to the men in our ward and felt blest in so doing. No letters today.

Monday, March 6th. Today we received four month's pay, The first we have received in six months. We have two month's more pay due us as well as thirty-three-and-a-third dollars bounty. Rec[eiv]ed a letter from Emory. Wrote to Albert and Ota [Otis?]. \$2 to Ota.

Tuesday, March 7th. Nothing special occur[r]ed today with us. Wrote a letter to Mary and at night wrote one to Emory. Got no letter today.

Wednesday, March 8th. Duties in the ward are very light nowadays. But few sick men and those not very sick. One of the cooks is sick today and I help some in the cook room. No letters today.

Thursday, March Ninth. Today our camp is alive with the rumor that a part of our men are to be detached and sent to the front. It is probably nothing but a rumor. Am still doing double duty both as cook and nurse. No letters today.

⁴²Richards had the singular privilege of hearing Lincoln deliver his second inaugural address, which closed with the immortal lines: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting place among ourselves and with all nations."

Friday, March 10th. No changes worth recording. Received a letter from Emory. Am superintending the ward and helping the cook. Small Pox in our ward.

Saturday, March 11th. A general cleaning up in the ward this morning. In the afternoon received three letters, one from Br[other] Howe, one from Ziba and Laura, and one from Ancelia. Answered Ancelia's in the evening and sent her \$2.00.

Sunday, March 12th. A very few men in our ward today. General quiet reigns. A good time to read, reflect, and write. Wrote a letter to Ziba and Laura and one to Father Howe.

Monday, March 13th. Another day of light duty. Received a letter from Benjamin and Amelia. Wrote one to Eliza.

Tuesday, March 14th. Nothing new to record this morning. Duties light and health good. Wrote a letter to Emory. Received none, Except one from Br[other] Fero.

Wednesday, March 15th. Today one of our cooks is sick and the other gone to Washington and I am acting cook. No letters.

Thursday, March 16th. Nothing new or strange occur[r]ing with us today. No letters.

Friday, March 17th. We are having quiet times and little to do. Rec[eive]d a letter from Br[other] Sanderson. None from Home.

Saturday, March 18th. Today we had a visit from a lady, an agent of the Sanitary Commission who left us several little articles for the comfort of the sick. She is said to hold the rank of a major in the army and wears a major's straps.⁴⁸ Tonight Received and answered a letter from my beloved Eliza. Sent \$5.00.

Sunday, March 19th. A lovely spring morning and a quiet peaceful day in our ward. The chaplain of a N[ew] H[ampshire] regiment made a short call and left a few papers. No other religious services except our regular evening prayer. No letters. Wrote to Benjamin and Amelia.

⁴⁸Richards seems to have been caught up in the rumor he reported. The United States Sanitary Commission was a private organization authorized by but not responsible to the government. Field agents were volunteer workers and had no official status in the army. The lady mentioned by Richards may have been a nurse who was working closely with the Sanitary Commission. On the other hand, she may have been an agent who was wearing the special insignia of the Sanitary Commission, and Richards and his comrades erroneously concluded that she was a major in the army.

Monday, March 20th. The same old story—little to do, good health, plenty of rations and pleasant weather. Yet still I sigh for home. No letters.

Tuesday, March 21st. The only circumstance today worth recording was we had a visit from the head surgeon of the division. He said our ward looked very well. Wrote to Br[other] Sanderson. Got no letters today.

Wednesday, March 22d. No news today with us. Received a letter from Clara.

Thursday, March 23d. This morning a man was brought into our ward insensible and remained so during the day. He was picked up by some of his comrades in that condition by the side of the road. Poor man, I feel he will die. No letters today.

Friday, March 24th. Most of this day was spent in watching by the bedside of the sick man brought in yesterday. He remained unconscious and just at night he died in convulsions. Poor man, and how I pity his family. No letters today.

Saturday, March 25th. Today is general cleaning day in our ward. Plenty to do. The doctors are having a Port Mortem examination of the man who died last night. They decide[d] that his disease was spotted fever. Received Two letters, one from Wife and one from Ancelia. Wrote to Eliza. Sent \$2.

Sunday, March 26th. A quiet peaceful sabbath in our ward though all is bustle about the camp. Tried in a brief address to impress upon the minds of our sick men the importance of the new birth and was blest in so doing. Hope soon to be able to preach in a more public manner the great salvation. No letters today.

Monday, March 27th. Nothing worthy of note today. Received a letter from Br[other] L. J. Francisco. Wrote to Celia.

Tuesday, March 28th. Today we had a visit from a chaplain of a N[ew] H[ampshire] regiment who left a few papers and made a few lifeless remarks and prayed with us. He evidently needs converting! No letters today. Wrote one to Eliza and at night wrote one to Clara. Sent \$5.00 to Eliza.

Wednesday, March 29th. Today I have little to do but sweep the ward and keep things in order. This evening we have a social prayer meeting, the first that I have attended since leaving home. No letters. Wrote to Br[other] Francisco.

Thursday, March 30th. A gloomy, rainy day. Nothing special to record. At evening received a letter from Eliza and answered it at night.

Friday, March 31st. A very easy day's work today—few sick and little to do. At night received a letter from Albert.

Saturday, April 1st. Another month gone. The weather is getting quite warm. No news today. Prayer meeting this evening. No letters.

Sunday, April 2d. Another peaceful sabbath. No meeting till evening. Received a letter from Andrew and Mary.

Monday, April 3d. A day of general rejoicing. The camp has run wild with excitement over the fall of Petersburg and Richmond.⁴⁴ The days of the rebellion are numbered and thousands of hearts are beating high with wild delight while other thousands are bruised and crushed and broken, For loved ones have fallen in the strife and will return no more. No letters today. Wrote to Albert. Sent \$5.00.

Tuesday, April 4th. Stirring news from the front. Lee reported surrounded and his capture certain. Great rejoicing everywhere. Tonight there is to be a great display of fireworks at Washington. No letters today.

Wednesday, April 5th. Nothing special today. Wrote to Andrew and Mary. Sent Mary \$5.00. Prayer meeting this evening. No letters.

Thursday, April 6th. Duties still light. No news. Received a letter from Eliza. Wrote one to Otis. Sent 50 c[en]ts.

Friday, April 7th. General inspection today. More good news from the army. A general time of rejoicing. Received a letter from Emory, With a few lines from Eliza and Ancelia. Wrote to Eliza. Sent \$2.25. Received a letter from Father Howe.

Saturday, April 8th. General cleaning day. Rather a busy time in the forenoon. Plenty of leisure in the afternoon. Wrote to Emory. No letters today.

Sunday, April 9th. Our ward is as quiet as a well regulated fam-

⁴⁴Petersburg and Richmond, Virginia, had been under siege since June, 1864. On April 1, 1865, Grant smashed the Confederate right (Battle of Five Forks), and cut the last railway connecting Richmond and the lower South. To avoid being trapped, Lee evacuated Richmond and Petersburg and retreated westward. Union forces took over both cities on April 3.

ily. Only six men besides the nurse. Spent the day mostly in reading and writing. No meeting till evening. Wrote to Br[other] Pennock.⁴⁵ No letters today.

Monday, April 10th. This morning we were wakened by the firing of cannon and soon the joyful news spread through the camp that Lee has surrendered his whole army to Gen[eral] Grant.⁴⁶ Cheers, Hurras, and shouts are the order of the day. Sent a letter to Ancelia with \$2.

Tuesday, April 11th. Today a salute of 200 guns was fired at [by] our fort in honor of recent victories. Wrote to Eliza. Received no letters today.

Wednesday, April 12th. Nothing new with us today and no letters from home. Prayer meeting this evening.

Thursday, April 13th. Nothing unusual in camp today. This evening there is a general illumination of the city in honor of recent victories. It looks like a city on fire. The Capitol seems a palace of fire from base to dome. No letters.

Friday, April 14th. Four years ago today our flag was struck at Fort Sumpter [sic]. Today it is to be restored amid great rejoicing.⁴⁷ There is to be a splendid Torchlight procession at Washington. I am going to attend. Received a letter from Eliza.

Saturday, April 15th. A day of Sadness and sorrow. President

⁴⁵Richards is probably referring to Ebenezer Pennock. Pennock and his wife, Elvira, who is mentioned later in the diary, were for many years prominent residents of Hastings, Barry County. They attended regularly the annual sessions of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and were among the most active lay members of that organization. They contributed generously to Wesleyan funds and gave land in Hastings for use as a Conference campground. Elvira Pennock died in 1916; Ebenezer Pennock died the following year in the hospital in Hastings which bears his name. W. W. Potter, *History of Barry County . . .*, 177-83 (Grand Rapids, 1912), has a biographical sketch of this couple, with pictures of them and of their home in Hastings.

⁴⁶Lee's westward retreat from Richmond ended at Appomattox where he surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. For a superb study of Grant's campaign against Lee, see Bruce Catton, *A Stillness at Appomattox* (New York, 1954).

⁴⁷The Confederates were forced to evacuate Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on February 17, 1865. Late the next month the United States War Department directed that an elaborate ceremony be held on April 14 for the restoration of the stars and stripes over the fort. The program went off according to schedule and reached its climax when General Robert J. Anderson raised over Fort Sumter the same stained and tattered flag that he had lowered and saluted exactly four years earlier. *Official Records*, series 1, volume 47, part 3:34; and series 1, volume 16:373.

Lincoln was murdered last night and today a nation mourns. The flag floats at half mast and all seem to feel that a great and good man has fallen. Every avenue of approach to Washington is strongly guarded in order, if possible, to prevent the escape of the assassin.⁴⁸ Wrote to Eliza. Sent \$2.00. Received no letters today.

Sunday, April 16th. A solemn, gloomy day, the stillest I have ever known in camp. The men are pretty much all out as pickets or patrols or in the rifle pits hoping to secure the murderer of the President. I fear he will escape. No letters today.

Monday, April 17. Several persons have been arrested today on suspicion of having been engaged in the late tragedy. News received today of the capture of Mobile⁴⁹ with a large number of prisoners and a vast amount of stores. But we are sad while we rejoice, for our President is dead. Received a letter from Br[other] and S[ister] Fero.

Tuesday, April 18th. Today I visited Washington and looked for the last time on the lifeless form of our beloved President.⁵⁰ The Wretch who attempted to assassinate Secretary Seward was today arrested.⁵¹ Wrote a letter to my beloved Eliza. Sent \$5.00. Received no letters today.

Wednesday, April 19th. Today the remains of the President were taken from the White House and conveyed to the Rotunda of the Capitol where they are to lie in state one day and then be forwarded to Illinois. Over 200 guns were fired today from our fort in honor

⁴⁸For a provocative account of Lincoln's assassination which suggests that men in high places might have been involved in the murder, see Otto Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (Boston, 1937). Regarding diarist Richards' statement that "every avenue of approach to Washington is strongly guarded," Eisenschiml shows that for hours after Lincoln was shot, one avenue of escape was left open. This was the road from Washington to Port Tobacco, Maryland, the road which the assassin would be most likely to use, the road by which John Wilkes Booth escaped from Washington! Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* 91-96.

⁴⁹Mobile, Alabama, one of the most important Southern ports, was occupied by Federal troops on April 12, 1865. It should be noted, however, that eight months earlier the Union victory in the Battle of Mobile Bay (August 5, 1864), had closed the harbor to Confederate blockade runners.

⁵⁰On Tuesday, April 18, Lincoln lay in state in the East Room of the White House.

⁵¹The same night that Lincoln was shot an attempt was made on the life of William H. Seward, the Secretary of State. The assailant was big, powerful, knife-wielding Lewis Paine, who was arrested by detectives on the night of April 17.

of the sad event. Still good news from the front. Mobile taken and Johns[t]on said to have surrendered.⁵² No letters.

Thursday, April 20th. No important news today. There is a lull in the storm caused by the death of the president, but from every part of the land there is heard the low muttering of vengeance in which Traitors May read their doom. No letters today.

Friday, April 21st. Nothing important occur[r]ing with us today. Received two letters, one from Amelia and one from Albert. Wrote one to Br[other] Fero.

Saturday, April 22d. A large number of men are today encamped near us just returned from the front. They seem to consider the war about the same as ended. Received a letter from Br[other] L. J. Francisco.

Sunday, April 23d. Our ward today is peaceful and quiet. I am highly favored in passing my sabbaths so quietly. No letters today. Evening prayer a time of refreshing.

Monday, April 24th. A pleasant day. Duties light. Received no letters. Wrote to Amelia.

Tuesday, April 25th. No particular incidents today worth recording. No letters.

Wednesday, April 26th. Nothing remarkable in our camp today. The Ninth Army Corps, just returned from the front, are encamped about a mile from us.⁵³ Received a letter from Emory and wrote one to Albert.

Thursday, April 27th. Nothing strange occur[r]ing today. A drunken row at the Sutlers was the most noted event of the day. Rec[eive]d a letter from Clara.

Friday, April 28th. Nothing specially new today. Received a letter from Eliza, also one from Andrew and Mary. Wrote to Emory.

Saturday, April 29th. Nothing specially new but rumors. They are plenty and generally to the effect that we are soon going home. So Mote it be.

⁵²General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to General William T. Sherman on April 18, near Durham, North Carolina.

⁵³The Ninth Army Corps was activated on July 22, 1862. This corps, or units thereof, fought in such important battles as Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, and Knoxville. It campaigned with Grant from the Wilderness to Petersburg, after which it was transferred to the Department of Washington. The Ninth Corps was disbanded on August 1, 1865.

Sunday, April 30th. Today we were mustered for pay. Shall probably get it in a week or two. No letters.

Monday, May 1st. Today We change doctors. A busy day with us. No very important news. Rec[eive]d a letter from Almira. Wrote to Clara and Mary.

Tuesday, May 2d. Nothing special today. Received no letters today. Sent one to Eliza with \$2.00, also wrote one to Almira.

Wednesday, May 3d. Rumor says we are soon going home. No news and no letters.

Thursday, May 4th. Nothing remarkable occur[r]ing today. No letters. Plenty of rumor.

Friday, May 5th. Today received two letters, one from Eliza and one from Br[other] and Sister Pennock.

Saturday, May 6th. Our work today is rather harder than usual as we are cleaning our ward. Rec[eive]d no letters.

Sunday, May 7th. A quiet sabbath but no religious services and no letters. Wrote to Eliza.

Monday, May 8th. Rumor, rumor, rumor, and all about going home. Had my likeness taken. No letters. Wrote to Syracuse.

Tuesday, May 9th. But little news. Duties light and still I sigh for home. No letters.

Wednesday, May 10th. Rather a busy day as my partner is sick. No Letters.

Thursday, May 11th. And still no news of interest. Received a letter from Emory. My comrade still sick.

Friday, May 12th. The same old story of no news of interest. Received three letters—one from my beloved wife, one from Father Howe, and one from little Charlie.

Saturday, May 13th. No news of importance. Wrote to Eliza and Emory. No letters.

Sunday, May 14th. Another sabbath has come, but oh, how I miss the Sanctuary and its privileges! Today I wrote to br[other] Pennock.

Monday, May 15th. Jeff[erson] Davis captured in his wife's petticoats.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Notwithstanding the surrender of Lee and Johnston, Jefferson Davis favored continuing the war. His capture came while he was fleeing to the Trans-Mississippi where he proposed to establish the Confederate government and what remained of the army. He was taken prisoner on May 10, 1865, by the Fourth Michigan Cavalry under the command of Colonel Benjamin D.

Tuesday, May 16th. Monotony is the word that most fully describes our every day life—one thing over and over.

Wednesday, May 17th. The same old story. No letters.

Thursday, May 18th. I am still here at Fort Reno doing duty as nurse and that is about all I have to say.

Friday, May 19th. Rumor says our horses are to be returned to [the] government and we are going home. Rec[eive]d a letter from Eliza and Albert.

Saturday, May 20th. Today the order came for our Pickets to be called in and our horses to be turned over to [the] government. What they will do with us next is hard to tell.

Sunday, May 21st. This day passed with the usual quiet in our ward and no religious services till evening prayer. No letters.

Monday, May 22d. Today [the men in] our company returned their horses, supposed to be preparatory to going home.

Tuesday, May 23d. My partner has gone to Washington to witness the great review. I am doing the work alone.

Wednesday, May 24th, 1865. Today I visited Washington to witness the great review of Sherman's army. About eighty thousand were reviewed today and probably nearly as many more were present about town who were not reviewed. Saw the President, Secretary Stanton, Well[e]s and McCulloch; also saw Generals Grant, Sherman, Hancock, Ord, Meade, Logan, Slocum, Geary, and others.⁶⁵ Shook hands with Gen. Grant. It was a great day

Pritchard. Immediately after the capture, individuals and newspapers hostile to Davis circulated stories to the effect that he was skirted and bonneted at the time of his capture. Diarist Richards heard that Davis was garbed in his wife's petticoats. These stories were false. Davis and a small party, which included his wife, were encamped at Irwinsville, Georgia, and just before dawn the Confederate President was told that Federal troops were closing in. "As it was quite dark in the tent," recounted Davis, "I picked up what was supposed to be my 'raglan,' a water-proof, light overcoat, without sleeves; it was subsequently found to be my wife's, so very like my own as to be mistaken for it; as I started, my wife thoughtfully threw over my head and shoulders a shawl." In this garb Davis was taken prisoner just a few paces from his tent. Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2:701 (New York, 1881). For a careful study of the capture of Davis, see Robert McElroy, *Jefferson Davis: The Unreal and the Real*, 2:498-523 (New York and London, 1937).

⁶⁵The dignitaries mentioned by Richards were Andrew Johnson, President of the United States; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of Navy; Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of Treasury; and Generals Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, Winfield S. Hancock, Edward O. C. Ord, George G. Meade, John A. Logan, Henry W. Slocum, and John W. Geary.

yet thoughts of the dead and those who sorrow for them made me sad.

Thursday, May 25th. No news today worth recording.

Saturday, June 3d. Well, cleaning day has come again and here I am yet feeling very well though almost impatient to go home. Received a letter tonight from my loved and loving wife.

Sunday, June 4th. Today by invitation visited the camp of the 1st Mich[igan] [E]ngineers⁵⁶ and tried to Preach to them the unsearchable riches of Christ. Felt that it was good to be there. Returned to Fort Reno hospital wearied in body but refreshed in spirit.

Monday, June 5th. Another day of quiet with light duties. Am feeling very well and from present indications am hoping to see home in a few days. No letters.

Tuesday, June 6th. Nothing of importance to record today, only rumors are as thick as the flies and that is saying a good deal. No letters.

Wednesday, June 7th. Today our officers are making out discharge papers for all of our company whose term of service expires before the first of Oct. We shall probably be mustered out in a few days. Rec[eive]d a letter from Eliza.

Thursday, June 8th. A day's march nearer home. Waiting for the mustering officer to come [a]round and tell us to go home. We shall go very willingly.

Friday, June 9th. One very sick man in our ward requiring almost constant care. I am afraid he will die. Weather very warm and flies very thick.

Saturday, June 10th. Today I visited Washington again, probably for the last time before leaving for home. Spent some time in looking at the curiosities collected at the Smithsonian Institute. Also visited the Navy yard and arsenal. Saw a great many things of interest and returned to Fort Reno about tired out.

Sunday, June 11th. Almost the entire day was passed by the bedside of a very sick man.

⁵⁶For the service and membership of the First Michigan Engineers and Mechanics, see *Record First Michigan Engineers and Mechanics Civil War: 1861-1865*, volume 43 (Kalamazoo, n. d.), of the series published under the direction of the Adjutant General of Michigan entitled *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865*.

Monday, June 12th. Spent the day in taking care of a very sick man. Fear he will die.

Tuesday, June 13th. This day like several others preceding was spent in ministering to the wants of a very sick man.

Wednesday, June 14th. This morning about eight o'clock Daniel Stephens died. About eleven his Father and Mother came. His Mother's grief was heart rending. Poor woman, he was her only child.

Thursday, June 15th. This morning we were told that we would be mustered out today, but at night we were told it would be tomorrow.

Friday, June 16th. No mustering out today but we are told that we certainly shall be soon.

Saturday, June 17th. The order is issued for our battery to be mustered out immediately. Hope to see home next week.

Sunday, June 18th. My last sabbath at Fort Reno, for tomorrow at ten o'clock we are to start for home.

Monday, June 19th. Left Fort Reno at ten o'clock. Marched to Washington. Took the cars for Baltimore Where we arrived about seven o'clock and after changing cars and waiting till about ten o'clock started on toward Harrisburg.

Tuesday, June 20th. Reached Harrisburg about seven o'clock and after a short stop started on towards Pittsburg. One man of our company missing, supposed to have been knocked from the top of the cars while passing through a tunnel.

Wednesday, June 21st. Reached Pittsburg about daylight. Waited for a train till three P.M. when we started for Cleveland where we arrived about eleven o'clock and went on board the Steamboat *Morning Star* bound for Detroit. Had a good supper at Cleveland.

Thursday, June 22d. Reached Detroit about eight o'clock. Had a splendid breakfast furnished by the citizens and about ten took the cars for Jackson where we arrived about one o'clock, and after partaking of a bountiful dinner of nice things furnished by the citizens, and listening to some poor music and some very good speeches welcoming us home, we went into camp in Jackson barracks and for myself I can say in truth it was with a thankful heart.

Friday, June 23d. This morning obtained leave of absence from camp till Tuesday noon. Went to Hanover and spent Saturday,

Sunday, and Monday visiting the friends there and returned to camp Tuesday morning. Spent part of the day in camp and part of it in looking about town.⁵⁷

Wednesday, June 28th. Spent the day in strolling about camp waiting for the pay and muster rolls to be completed.

Thursday, June 29th. Today we signed the payroll and were given to understand that we will be paid tomorrow.

Friday, June 30th. Today was passed in feverish anxiety. We were expecting our pay and discharge but the day passed and no pay came and at night we learned that the reason was the paymaster was drunk.

Saturday, July 1st. Today we were paid and discharged, and about three o'clock we started for home where I arrived on Sunday about one o'clock after an absence of just ten months. Feeling very well and with a heart overflowing with gratitude to God for His keeping power and preserving care.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Probably most or all of this entry was made on Tuesday, June 27.

⁵⁸Obviously this entry was not made on July 1, but on July 2 or later.

Report of the Archives of the Historical Commission

Philip P. Mason

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION when it was established in 1913 by the state legislature was directed "to collect, arrange, and preserve historical material . . . relating to the history of Michigan and the old northwest territory." A necessary corollary of this duty was to make this material available to the public, particularly to historians. During the past forty years the Historical Commission has actively sought to fulfill these obligations. Thousands of valuable documents from state and local agencies have been obtained by the Commission and preserved in its archives. Unfortunately the task of providing suitable guides and finding aids for this precious historical material has not been realized. The Historical Commission is not entirely to blame, however, for this shortcoming. It has been aware for many years of the need for compiling guides to its manuscript collections but it has lacked an adequate staff to perform this task. Indeed Michigan is not alone in this respect. The archival agencies of most states are faced with a similar problem of indexing manuscript collections. Perhaps we should be thankful that so much valuable historical material has been preserved in the state of Michigan.

The addition of two trained archivists to the staff of the Historical Commission since 1951 was the first step in a program to deal properly with the archival problem. Plans are now underway to provide guides for the more important collections of papers in the archives, although it may take many years for the fruition of such projects. The manuscripts which will receive the most extensive attention are those from the files of the governors of the state, especially that group of executive documents between the years 1810-1910. Unlike these earlier records, the papers from the governors' office after 1910 offer fewer problems regarding finding aids. The post-1910 executive records are arranged chronologically by administrations and have further been divided under subject headings. Moreover in

recent years elaborate card indexes have accompanied the transfer of executive files to the archives and have thereby made the task of obtaining information from these records relatively simple.

A discussion of the provenance of the executive files for the period 1810-1910, and an account of the procedures followed in arranging these papers in the archives will show more clearly the problem of providing an adequate guide for this collection.

In 1921 several hundred boxes of manuscripts, which had been stored in the vault of the governor's office in the capitol, were transferred to the custody of the Historical Commission. This collection covered the period 1810 to 1910 and contained over 260,000 loose documents and 140 bound volumes. The loose documents consist of correspondence, petitions, proclamations and reports received by the state's chief executive. Up to 1873 no copies of outgoing correspondence were kept, except in rare instances when a draft of a letter written by a governor, was placed in the files along with incoming correspondence. Beginning in 1873 and continuing to 1910, copies of letters written by the governor were bound in letterpress books.¹ After 1910, carbon copies of outgoing correspondence were placed with related material in vertical files.

When the Historical Commission received this voluminous collection of governors' papers in 1921 it was faced with the problem of arranging and indexing the material. With few precedents to follow, the archivist of the commission made an examination of the procedures followed by historical societies and commissions in other states. Finally, after a visit to Des Moines, Iowa, the plan of the archives of that state was adopted by the archivist. This system was said to be well adapted to both administrative and historical needs.

Following the Iowa plan the archivist sorted the quarter-of-a-million documents in the governors' collection into subject classifications. The ten main series headings used were: Commissions, Correspondence, Elections, Extraditions, Legislative, Miscellaneous, Petitions,

¹Unfortunately the bound letterpress books were destroyed in the state office building fire on February 8, 1951. The more recent governors' papers, those from the collections of Governors Wilber M. Brucker, William A. Constock, Frank D. Fitzgerald, Luren D. Dickinson, Murray D. Van Wagoner, and Harry F. Kelly, however, were housed on the mezzanine floor with bound manuscript material and were partially destroyed. The unbound executive office papers for the years 1810 to 1910 were stored in a special vault and were unharmed by the fire.

Proclamations, Reports and Vouchers. These series classifications were further broken down into numerous subdivisions such as expositions, lands, military, et cetera. Thus, letters sent by congressmen to the governor would be filed under the subdivision, "Congress," in series II, "Correspondence." Letters relating to wars would be filed in the same series, under the subdivision, "military." In most cases the manuscripts were filed chronologically within the subdivision.

There are undoubtedly many advantages to this system of arrangement. It is a relatively simple task to find material on a special subject, such as, auctioneers, circuit judges, justices of the peace, state institutions, and so on. It is more difficult for the archivist to locate material in this collection relating to more general subjects such as, lands, canals, railroads, labor and banking, but given adequate time he can usually find such information.

However, this system of arrangement does have many disadvantages and has made the collection practically unusable for many research purposes. It is almost impossible to use this collection for a study of the administration of a particular governor. For example, in order to find the records in the collection relating to the administration of Stevens T. Mason it would be necessary to search through hundreds of boxes of material, folder by folder, a task which would take several weeks to complete. It is likewise a nearly impossible task to find the papers pertaining to a certain period in Michigan history. As they are now arranged, the majority of manuscript boxes contain material covering several decades, thus making a search for material covering a five or ten year period, a work of considerable magnitude.

The rearrangement of executive papers has done irreparable harm as far as the integrity of each governor's collection is concerned. The historian is often quite interested in the manner in which the papers of an individual or agency were originally filed. This information is often a key to the relative importance of certain papers, as well as indicating something about the duties of the official. To one writing an administrative history of the executive office this data could be extremely important. It is significant that most archivists in this country are now following a practice of leaving manuscript collections in the order in which they originate, unless they are impossible to use in this form.

Further difficulties in using the executive papers covering the years 1810 to 1910 have arisen from the fact that the classification project, begun in 1922, was never completed. The archivist resigned from the commission in 1926 before he had finished his work on the papers. Folders and containers had only temporary labels and many of these have since fallen off or have been destroyed. Thus, a considerable number of manuscripts are unidentified. Furthermore, no card index or inventory of the collection was ever made.

The archivist has two alternatives to consider in dealing with the problem of making this valuable collection of papers more accessible to researchers and other interested persons. He can leave the papers under their present system of arrangement or he can put the papers once again in chronological order. At first, it was believed that the latter choice was most desirable. However, after consulting other archivists who have dealt with similar problems, the plan to re-sort the files was abandoned. Several factors influenced the decision. First, it would take many months, if not years, to perform this operation. Second, there is the problem of what to do with the several hundred undated documents. Except in those cases where it might be possible to identify the date of the manuscript through internal evidence, many valuable papers would be lost for all practical purposes. Third, even though the papers were arranged according to administrations, one could never restore the order in which they were originally filed. Finally, the time required to rearrange the papers might be more advantageously spent in providing a suitable guide for the collection.

For the last year a program has been in operation to compile a suitable finding aid for the governors' collection. The papers are being examined by the archivist and the most important material is being catalogued. One set of catalogue cards will be filed chronologically, thus giving a guide to the papers of the various governors. A duplicate set of cards will be filed according to author and subject. In this way we hope to be able to answer research requests for material on individuals and subjects as well as on specific periods of Michigan history. Although it is clearly evident that this is a long-term project and will not completely remedy the shortcomings of the previous arrangement of the documents, it is believed that this important collection of papers merits this attention. It is hoped that eventually

a guide to this and other collections of important papers in the archives will be made available in a published form.

In the meantime the archivist plans to make periodic reports in the magazine on the progress of the indexing of the executive files. Not only will descriptions of important groups of manuscripts be given, but an attempt will be made to edit and publish some of the more interesting documents.

The following outline has been compiled by the staff of the archives to show the major subdivisions of the manuscripts in the governors' files covering the period, 1810 to 1910. It is hoped that it will be useful to students of Michigan history.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE—CLASSIFICATION

MAIN DIVISIONS

- Series I. Commissions
- Series II. Correspondence
- Series III. Elections
- Series IV. Extraditions
- Series V. Legislative
- Series VI. Miscellaneous
- Series VII. Petitions
- Series VIII. Proclamations
- Series IX. Reports
- Series X. Vouchers

SUBDIVISIONS

G I COMMISSIONS

- Auctioneers
- Commissioners, Special
- Circuit Judges
- Delegates to Conventions
- Justices of Peace
- Military
- Notarial
- Probate Judges
- State Institutions
- State Officers, etc.

G II CORRESPONDENCE

Affairs outside of State

Foreign (Arranged alphabetically by name of country)

United States

Agriculture, Dept. of

Civil Service

Commerce and Labor

Congress

Fish and Fisheries

General Land Office

Government Hospital for Insane

Government Printing Office

Industrial Commission

Inland Waterways Commission

Interior Department

Interstate Commerce Commission

Joint Committee on Conservation

Justice, Dept. of

Library of Congress

National Conservation Commission

National Deaf Mute College

National Home for Disabled Soldiers

Navy Department

Postoffice Department

President and Vice President

Smithsonian Institution

State Department

Treasury Department

United States Courts

War Department

World's Columbian Commission

Other States (Arranged alphabetically by name of State)

Appointments

Auctioneers

Census Enumerator

Circuit Attorneys

Circuit Court Commissioners

Circuit Judges

Circuit Court Stenographers

Commissioners of Bail

Commissioners of Deeds

Commissioners and Agents

County Auditors

County Clerk and Clerk of Court

County Commissioner

County and Circuit Judges of Michigan Territory

County Coroners

County Inspector

County Register of Deeds

County Road Commissioner

County Superintendents of Poor

County Surveyors

County Treasurer

Miscellaneous county officers

Drain Commissioners

Expositions, etc.—Delegates to Alaskan—Yukon Pacific Exposition

American Medical Association

American Mining Congress
American Pomological Society

American Prison Association

American Road Builders Association

Anti-Trust Convention

Association of Military Surgeons

Australia Exhibition, 1888

Bath, England, Historical Pageant 1909

California Midwinter International Exposition 1893

G II CORRESPONDENCE

- Appointments (continued)
- Expositions (continued)
 - Canadian Trade Relations 1909
 - Cattle Convention 1890
- Indian Agents, Farmers and Interpreters, etc.
- Inspectors of Provisions, Leather, etc.
- Jury Commission
- Justices of Peace
- Masters in Chancery
- Military
 - Civil War
 - Dixon Military Institute
 - Governor's staff
 - Mexican War
 - Naval
 - Orchard Lake Military Academy
 - Spanish War
 - State Troops
 - United States Army
 - West Point Cadets
- National Government
- Notarial
- Probate Judges
- Probate, Register of
- Prosecuting Attorneys
- Sheriffs
- State Institutions
 - Agricultural College
 - Blind School
 - College of Mines
 - Deaf School
 - Employment Institution for Blind
 - Feeble Minded
 - Industrial School (Boys and Girls)
 - Normal Schools
 - Prisons (Jackson and Marquette)
 - Penal and Charitable Institution, Board of
 - Reformatory, Ionia
 - Soldiers' Home
 - Soldiers' and Sailors' Home to be Established in Detroit 1867
 - State Hospitals for Insane
 - State Public School
 - State Sanatorium (Howell) University
- State Officers, Boards and Commissions
 - Accountancy
 - Adjutant General
 - Agricultural Department
 - Arbitration
 - Attorney General
 - Auditor General
 - Auditors, Board of
 - Banking Commissioner
 - Barbers, Board of Examiners
 - Capitol Police
 - Corrections and Charities State Board
 - County Agents
 - Dairy and Food Commissioner
 - Dental Examiners
 - Detroit and Saginaw Turnpike, Superintendent of
 - Emigration Commissioner
 - Equalization, State Board of
 - Fire Relief Commission
 - Fish Commissioners, State Board of
 - Game and Fish Warden
 - Geological Survey
 - Governor's Office
 - Grade Crossing Commission
 - Grand River, Overseer of Road to
 - Gravel Roads, Inspector of
 - Health, State Board of
 - Highway Commissioner

G II CORRESPONDENCE

Appointments (continued)

State Officers, Boards and Commissions (continued)

Horseshoer's Board of Examiners

Inspector of Steam Boilers

Inspector General

Insurance Commissioner

Internal Improvement Commissioner

Janitors

Labor Department

Law Examiners

Legislature Employees

Legislation, Commissioner for promotion of uniformity of

Liquor Warden

Livestock Sanitary Commission

Lumber Inspector

Mackinac Island, Commissioner to receive from United States

Mackinac Island State Park Commissioners

Mediation and Arbitration, State Court

Medicine, State Board of Registration

Medical Inspector of Trains

Military Board

Mineral Statistics Commissioner

Mines, Inspector of

Non-Game License Commission

Nurses, State Board of Registration

Oil Inspector

Ornithologists, Board to Grant licenses

Osteopathic Registration Board

Pardon Board

Pharmacy Board

Pension Examiners, Board of

Portage Canal Engineer

Public Domain Commission

Public Printing, Superintendent

Quartermaster General

Railroad Commissioner and Commission

Railroad Lands, Board of Control

Railway and Street Crossing Board

St. Clair Flats Canal, Custodian

Salt Inspector

Sault Canal Superintendent, Etc.

Sealer of Weights and Measures

Secretary of State

State Building Commission 1871

State Constable under Constabulary Bill

State Detective

State Entomologist

State Humane Marshal

State Land Office

State Library

State Property, Superintendent of

State Treasurer

State Trespass Agent

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Supreme Court

Surveyor General

Swamp Land Road Commissioner

Tax Statistician

Veterinarian, State

Veterinary Board

G II CORRESPONDENCE

Appointments (continued)

Towns and Cities

Unclassified

Charities

Blind, Aid for

Children

Churches, Appeal for

Cuban Relief

Cyclones

Earthquakes

Fires

France, Relief for

Gratiot and other counties,
Destitution in, 1859

Hubbard, Relief for, 1895

Hungarians, Aid for, 1850

Indiana (Clay County) Suf-
fering, 1889

Institutions

Japan famine

Johnstown Flood

Kansas Farmers, Seeds for,
1857Lake County, Suffering in,
1874

Libraries and Lodges

Miscellaneous

Nebraska, Kansas, and Colo-
rado, Destitution, 1895

Ohio River Flood, 1896

Osceola County, Aid for Set-
tlers, 1870Personal Relief, Requests for
Russian FamineSt. Clair County Hail Storm,
1889

Salvation Army

San Francisco, unemployed,
1893

Societies, Charitable

Soldiers' Organizations

Sunday Schools

Upper Peninsula, Relief for
Miners, 1893-94

Women's Relief Corps

Young Men's Christian Asso-
ciation

Commissions and Agents

Alpena Fire Relief Commis-
sionBattleship Michigan Service
CommissionBlair Monument Commission
Cass StatueClaims against U. S. Agents
to collectCommissioner to revise laws
Etc.

Complaints and Removal

Against Officers

Commissioners and Agents
County and Other Local
Officers

State Institutions

State Officers, etc.

Against Violation of Probation
LawsAgainst Prize Fights, Slavery,
White Slavery, etc.General and Miscellaneous
complaints

Counties and Towns

County Affairs (Arranged al-
phabetically by name of
county)Town Affairs (Arranged al-
phabetically by name of
city, village and township)Criminal—Cases; Industrial
Schools; General

Elections

Presidential Elections

Congressional Elections

State Elections — Campaign
letters

State Conventions

State Elections Results

G II CORRESPONDENCE

Elections (continued)

- Judges Supreme Court
- Members of State Legislature
- Regents of the University
- Circuit Judges
- Counties and Towns
- Constitutional Amendments
- Letters from members of State Board Canvassers
- Direct Primaries
- Military—Territorial
- Suffrage, etc.

- Expositions, Congresses, Conventions, etc.

Lands

- Agricultural College lands
- Canal lands
- Dewey and Hazelton Mortgage Land
- Edmonds Land
- Homestead Land
- Indian Land
- Maxwell—Mineral
- Railroad Land
- Clinton River lands
- Road Lands
- Saline Land
- School lands
- Swamp lands
- University Lands
- General

Legislative

- Correspondence with members of Legislature
- Correspondence concerning legislative matters

Military

- Militia—Mobs, strikes, etc.
- Militia—General Matters
- Naval Brigade, State
- Orders—General and Special; and Circulars
- Red Cross
- U. S. Army and Navy

War Matters

- Indian uprisings
- Ohio Boundary
- Patriot War, 1838
- Protection from Indians, 1838
- Mexican War
- Civil War
- Germany, trouble anticipated, 1889
- Venezuelan Affair 1895
- Spanish War
- War Claims (Pensions, bounties, etc.)
- West Point Military Academy

Miscellaneous

- Acknowledgments
- Agriculture
- Anonymous
- Banks
- Biographical
- Boundaries
- Capitol
- Cattle quarantine
- Census
- Cholera
- Claims
- Congratulations
- Conservation
- Constitutional matters
- Contracts
- Cranks and hospital inmates
- Educational matters
- Gifts
- Health
- Immigration
- Indian affairs
- Insurance
- Interviews
- Introduction and recommendation
- Invitations

G II CORRESPONDENCE

Miscellaneous (continued)
Judicial
Monuments
Museum relics
Patriotic organizations
Religious organizations
Requests
Salt
Slavery
State Debt
Taxation
Thanks
Upper Peninsula
Unclassified
Resignations
Constitutional Convention
1907
County and Local Officers
Legislature, Members of
Military
Outside State Officers
Railroads
State Institutions
State Officers
Circuit Court Judges
Circuit Court Stenographers
State Institutions
State Officers, Boards, Commissions, etc.
Temperance
Transportation
Aeroplanes
Automobiles
Canals
Express Companies
Harbors
Lakes
Railroads
Rivers
Roads
Steamboat Companies
Street Railways

G III ELECTIONS

Abstracts of general and special elections
Certificates of election
Notices of election
Official ballots
Poll lists Monroe and Washtenaw Counties 1826-30
Railroad Bond election, 1869

G IV EXTRADITIONS

Requisitions from other States
(Arranged chronological Order by States)

G V LEGISLATIVE

Acts, Resolutions, etc.
Michigan Legislature
Other States
National Congress
Communications
Nominations
Confirmations
Refusals to confirm
Messages
Annual and Biennial
Approval
Special
Veto
Miscellaneous
Portions of Journal
Report of Committees

G VI MISCELLANEOUS

Bonds
Census Returns
Certificates
Contracts including Specifications for buildings, Indian Treaties and Treaties with Foreign countries
Deeds

G VI MISCELLANEOUS

Depositions
Maps
Printed Matter
Unclassified

G VII Petitions arranged alphabetically by subjects (All petitions except appointments, complaints against Officers and Criminal)

G VIII PROCLAMATIONS

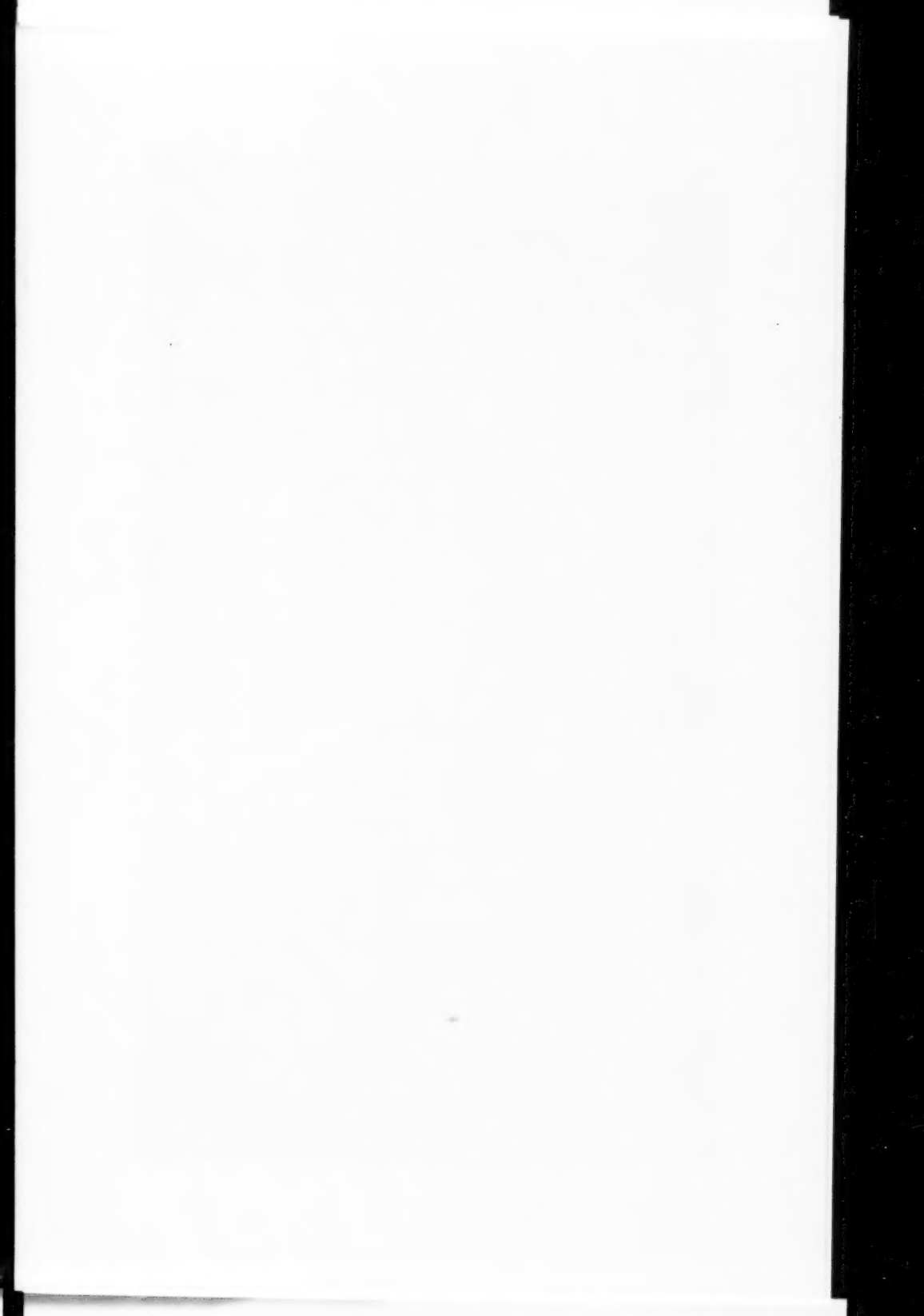
Michigan
United States
Alaska Territory
Other States
Cities and Towns

G IX REPORTS

Commissions, Commissioners,
Agents, Delegates, etc.
County Officers
Miscellaneous
Railroads
State Institutions
State Officers, Boards, Departments, etc.

G X VOUCHERS, RECEIPTS
AND ACCOUNTS

Commissioners and Agents
Miscellaneous
Receipts
State Institutions
State Officers, Boards, Departments, etc.





LILLIAN GODFREY GAMWELL

Lillian Godfrey Gamwell

Dorothy B. Rich

LILLIAN GODFREY GAMWELL, probably the oldest living pioneer teacher of Eaton County, was born July 14, 1862. Her father, Silas Godfrey, Sr., moved his family to Eaton Rapids from Dixon, Illinois, in 1870, and opened a meat market on North Main Street. Mr. Godfrey's death in 1873 left a widow and six children. Of the six two became school teachers. Lillian began her teaching career in the country schools of Eaton County.

In 1883 some one hundred Eaton Rapids people joined the caravan of westward travelers, locating in Dakota. Among this group was Lillian Godfrey's brother-in-law. Soon after the settlers reached Dakota they realized their need for a teacher and Lillian was asked to come West to teach the children of the new settlement.

Mrs. Gamwell remembers clearly the trip to Dakota and the ride over the open country behind a team of oxen, as she made her way to the little town of Ellendale, in what is now the southern part of North Dakota, to take the teacher's examination. With a humorous chuckle over her concern about teachers' examinations, Mrs. Gamwell describes the schoolhouse she was eligible to preside over. It was a claim shanty, heated with a cook stove, and furnished only with the chairs the children brought from their homes. When the door of the shanty was left open, small prairie animals ran freely into the schoolhouse.

Mrs. Gamwell taught one year in Dakota. She then returned to take her first position in the town school at Eaton Rapids. Here she taught the fourth and fifth grades for a period of four years. Her next move was to Grand Rapids where she taught in the grades and in the normal school for training teachers.

After twenty-five years in the profession Mrs. Gamwell retired, but continued to tutor private pupils and to serve as a substitute teacher.

Alert and poised, Mrs. Gamwell recalls with pleasure the many happy experiences of her early years of teaching. "Oyster suppers, sleigh rides, cultured friends—all helped to make up for the low

salaries of the time," she says, as she cites one position which paid only \$10 per month.

For the past year Mrs. Gamwell has made her home with her son at Cincinnati, Ohio. From her come charming messages to her Eaton Rapids friends, letters which reveal the sterling character, independent spirit, and gracious manner of this stately little lady who will be 93 years old in July, 1955. Truly one of the inspiring pioneer teachers!

Clara G. Stewart

Pearl McKellar Robinson

CLARA GOLDSMITH STEWART was born February 15, 1876, in Saginaw, the eighth of ten children. Her parents were Ferdinand and Mary Field Goldsmith. She attended the Saginaw public schools, was graduated from the Arthur Hill High School in 1894 and from the Saginaw City Training School for Teachers in 1895. She took special courses in education at the University of Michigan during the summer of 1935 and attended the summer session at Columbia University in 1939.

She taught nineteen years in the Saginaw city schools, five of them as principal of the Otto Roeser School. During a year's leave of absence she opened an art studio for teaching color painting. She was called back to teaching the same year to complete the work of the art supervisor, who had resigned. She was head teacher at a federally-sponsored nursery school during a summer session.

She left the teaching profession to marry David Wylie Stewart in July, 1912. A son, David Wylie, Jr., was born September 7, 1914. David was a brilliant boy and scholarly in his interest. He won a scholarship on graduating from high school. At the University of Michigan he earned his M.S. in four years, and was also elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He worked with Dr. Harold Urey at Columbia University and was one of the chemists who worked on the development of the atomic bomb.

After her marriage Mrs. Stewart did substitute teaching in the elementary grades and in high school. She helped to organize parent-teacher work in Saginaw and became the first president of the Saginaw Council of Parent-Teacher Associations. As her son progressed through elementary, intermediate, and high schools, Mrs. Stewart became in turn local president of Otto Roeser Elementary, the South Intermediate, and the Arthur Hill High School Parent-Teacher associations. She served as first vice president of the Michigan Congress of Parents and Teachers, and held the office of state president for four years. She served on national committees and

attended as a delegate the Conference on Child Welfare called by President Herbert Hoover.

Mrs. Stewart served four years as a member of the Saginaw West Side Board of Education before the two school systems in Saginaw were consolidated. She also served on the Camp Fire Girls' Council and was president of the Guardians' Association group for leaders.

In 1936 she became guidance counsellor for the Saginaw County schools in the office of the county commissioner of schools, Miss Ottilia Frisch, and for nine years conducted an intensive program of child guidance and parent and teacher education in the rural schools.

She was invited by President Eugene C. Warriner of Central Michigan College of Education to teach a course in the philosophy of the parent-teacher movement and gave this course for five consecutive years during the summer session.

During her early years of teaching, Mrs. Stewart lived on a farm with her parents, commuting from farm home to school by train. Her father was a business man in Saginaw. This farm experience gave her a better appreciation of rural life and a better understanding of rural problems. In her later work, when rural parents found out that she could milk cows and make butter and that she actually knew what a spring tooth harrow was, their attitude was one of comradeship and it was much easier to work together for the good of the children.

Michigan News

THE MANISTEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, since its organization December, 1953, has made remarkable progress. In January, 1954, the society acquired from the city the old Manistee Municipal Waterworks for a museum. The pumping machinery was removed and the money received from the sale has been used in repairing and improving the building for museum purposes. When completed, among the articles of interest to be placed on display is a collection of 1500 photographs which Mr. Curran N. Russell, now has, and which were made from the Hanselman plates, showing early lumbering and transportation scenes. The collection also includes seven hundred portraits of former prominent Manistee citizens. There are five hundred early costume pictures, three hundred group pictures, two hundred historical scenes, one hundred ten pictures of boats that formerly visited Manistee harbor, and three hundred lantern slides of miscellaneous subjects, making a total of 3,710 pictures.

Last April the society put on a pageant in the old Ramsdell Opera House under the direction of Mrs. Donna Degen Baer. Early costumes and scenes of Manistee, and slides made from photographic plates by Jacob Hanselman, who was Manistee's leading photographer for over forty years beginning in the early 1880's, were shown. The society has received Mr. Hanselman's entire collection of over twenty-three thousand plates and studio equipment, a gift from his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Hanselman Underwood of Ann Arbor. During the pageant a collection of old-time costume portraits made from the Hanselman plates were on exhibit in the lobby of the theatre.

In December, 1954, the society published a sixty-seven page pictorial history of Manistee, entitled *The Lumbermen's Legacy*. The cover design was by Harry W. Armstrong. After having spent several years as a summer resident of Manistee, Mr. Armstrong made the city his permanent home in 1935 until his death in February, 1954. The book is under the coauthorship of Curran N. Russell and Donna Degen Baer.

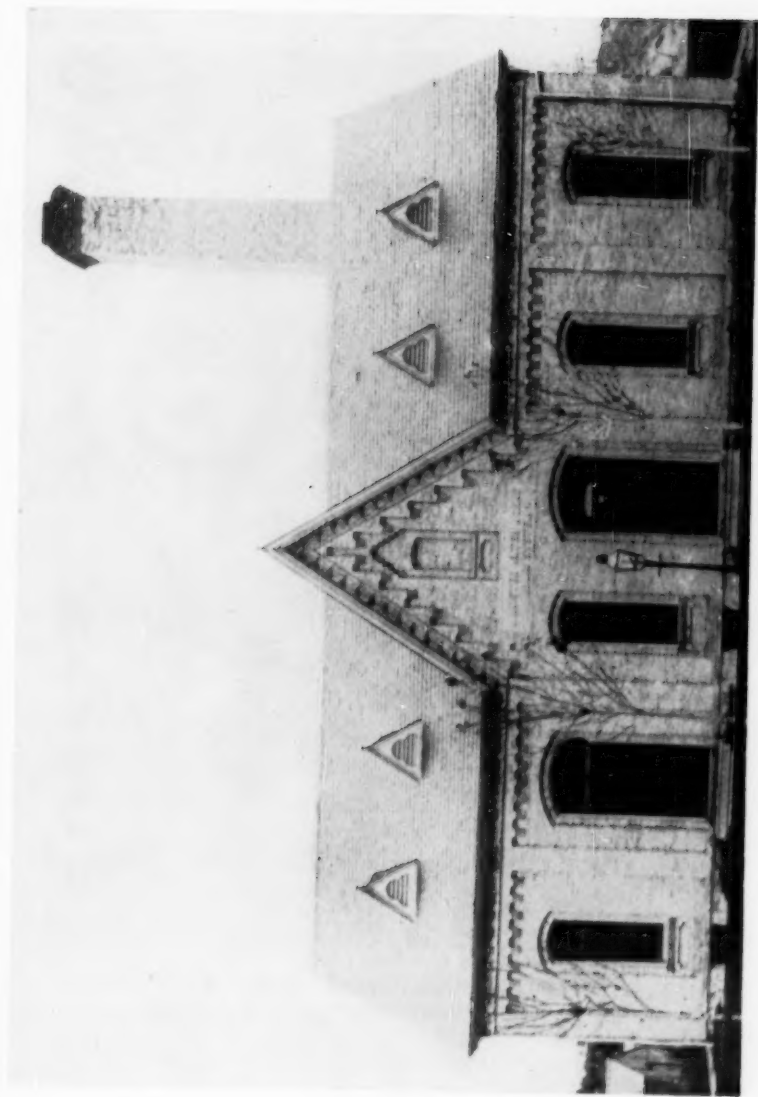
Mr. Roy M. Overpack, the first president of the Manistee County

Historical Society, was succeeded last November by Mrs. Virginia Stromel. Vice president is John Wurts; treasurer, Fred Caro; and secretary, Norma Kolb.

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CIVIL WAR ROUNDTABLE OF MICHIGAN was organized in Detroit in September, 1952, by members of the Detroit Lincoln Group. The organizational meeting took place at the Wing Lake home of Mr. and Mrs. William Springer, president of the Detroit Lincoln Group and publisher of the Detroit *New Center News*. Among those present at the organizational meeting were Thomas I. Starr, founder and past president of the Detroit Lincoln Group; Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones, minister emeritus, noted columnist and lecturer; Congressman George A. Dondero; State Representative Louis C. Cramton of Lapeer; Dr. Colton Storm, then director of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan; Fred L. Black, executive of the Nash-Kelvinator Company; Frank B. Howard, educator, now residing at Davisburg; Ernest Huthwaite, attorney; Mrs. Florence Doty of Pontiac; Weldon E. Petz of Wayne University, who is writing a two-volume thesis on Lincoln music; William S. McDowell, Royal Oak attorney; Otto J. Heber, educator, of Royal Oak; Ray H. Adams, educator, of Dearborn; and Arthur M. Smith, attorney, of Dearborn. Members at this meeting voted to include their wives at all future gatherings.

Civil War round tables are springing up all over the nation. Composed in the main of businessmen, the amateur historians are experts on the Civil War period. Many members have written books on the period and all have excellent libraries on it. Civil War round tables now number some two thousand men and women.

The Detroit Lincoln Group reorganized as a Civil War round table because the interests of its members were not limited to Abraham Lincoln but included the causes that led up to the Civil War, the ramifications of the war, and its after effects. Since the organization of the Abraham Lincoln Civil War Round Table of Michigan, the group has held a score of board meetings and sixteen well-attended general meetings. Most meetings were marked by addresses by nationally prominent historians. The organization has made its permanent headquarters at the Lincoln Courthouse in Greenfield



MANISTEE WATERWORKS ABOUT 1881



L to R—GEORGE A. DONDERO, THOMAS I. STARR, EDGAR DEWITT
JONES, FRANK B. HOWARD, WILLIAM SPRINGER

Village, Dearborn, through the courtesy and whole-hearted cooperation of Greenfield Village authorities.

The picture represents the scene at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Springer during the founding of the Abraham Lincoln Civil War Roundtable of Michigan in which the "Council of War" Rogers statue is clearly seen. The statue was a rare find in Birmingham's late Mother and Son Antique Shop.

ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, THE DETROIT HISTORICAL SOCIETY dedicated an exhibit panel for permanent display in the Detroit Historical Museum honoring the Business Founder Members of the society. The Hon. Prentiss Marsh Brown, president of the Detroit Historical Society, served as master of ceremonies.

The Business Founder Members of the Society are those firms which have been in existence in the Detroit area for twenty-five years or more, and have contributed greatly in the development of the community. Business Founder Membership dues are used by the society in its educational program, such as the publication of *Yesterday's Headlines*, a newspaper format listing happenings of early Detroit. The filmstrips on Detroit history produced by the society, and seen by some fifty thousand school children each year, are also sponsored by the Business Founder group.

A report and demonstration of the visual and printed materials made possible by the Business Founder Members was presented by Henry D. Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum.

THE *American Banker* IN ITS AUGUST 24, 1954 issue printed a copy of the Historic Michigan map produced by the Historical Society of Michigan. The National Bank of Detroit, working with the society, has distributed fifteen thousand copies to schools, colleges, universities, libraries, and banks. The map is twenty-two by twenty-two inches in size and features more than 125 important historical events of the past 250 years. It can be purchased for \$1.50 each, or in lots of ten to one address for \$7.50.

Book Reviews and Notes

Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908. By James J. Martin. (DeKalb, Illinois, Adrian Allen Associates, 1953. ix, 306 p. Bibliography Index. \$6.25.)

Men against the State is the product of the first attempt to trace in a scholarly way the rise and decline of native American anarchism. Its author, who also treated this subject in his dissertation, received the degree of doctor of philosophy in history at the University of Michigan in 1949. He is now a member of the faculty at Northern Illinois State Teachers College.

In the preparation of his work, Dr. Martin made extensive use of the Labadie Collection of radical and trade-union literature, which is housed in the General Library of the University of Michigan. Joseph A. Labadie, a Detroit printer, trade unionist, and a nationally prominent individualist anarchist, receives in *Men Against the State* the attention that is due him.

The book is profusely documented from primary sources; more than one thousand footnotes buttress the textual material. A short bibliographical essay critically evaluates the few extant works which deal, at least in part, with the bibliography and general history of American anarchism. There is, in addition, a generous list of primary and secondary source materials. The index, since it contains only the names of persons mentioned in the book, is not too serviceable. Harry Elmer Barnes contributed the Foreword.

Asserting that previous writers on his subject have seemed intent primarily on attacking anarchist thinking rather than on presenting a factual record of anarchism, Dr. Martin set as the major objectives of his study the establishment of "more universal criteria to make possible a more careful examination of anarchism" and the establishment of "a method of approach to the problem of a critical survey of the whole radical movement in America." *Men Against the State* does not purport, therefore, to be a comprehensive history of American anarchism. On the contrary, the author has reconstructed, from the lives of eight of the most prominent individualist anarchists, only the solid core of the intellectual content and activities of the American anarchist movement.

The story begins in 1827 when Josiah Warren, the real originator of anarchism in this country, opened his "time store" in Cincinnati, and ends in 1908 when Benjamin R. Tucker's central office (in which the leading anarchist journal, *Liberty*, was published) was destroyed by fire. In addition to Warren and Tucker, the other outstanding "men

against the state" who are treated in this volume are Ezra Heywood, William B. Greene, J. K. Ingalls, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner, and Victory S. Yarros.

The fact that the subject of American anarchism offered practically a virgin research field, coupled with the author's meticulous exploitation of source materials, has worked to produce in *Men Against the State* a number of surprises. For example, contrary to what is doubtless the popular opinion, American individualist anarchism is not a negative doctrine of violent destruction imported from abroad and proposed by bomb-throwing, cloak-and-dagger criminals, or other persons of morbid mind. Actually, well-organized anarchist doctrines were expounded by native-born Americans as early as the 1820's, and were inspired by purely domestic developments such as the growth of towns and industry and the rising power of the state. American anarchism therefore had its own developmental setting and, in fact, antedated a similar European movement by roughly two decades.

Dr. Martin lists the general tactics and strategy of American anarchists as anti-authoritarianism (especially opposition to the state), a refusal to participate in any attempt to reform the existing order, and the espousal of a varied, noncoercive program as a substitute for constituted authority. The American anarchists' opposition to authority is peaceful; a stateless society will, they believe, evolve gradually as the result of an educational process which will convince people of the justice and value of honoring the sovereignty of each individual personality. Individualist anarchists uniformly deplore the assassination of Presidents Garfield and McKinley, the shooting and stabbing of Henry C. Frick, and the bomb episode and police action at Haymarket Square in Chicago in 1886.

All this, however, is not to deny the existence of a European school of antistatists, the so-called "communist anarchists," some of whom have preached and practiced "direct action" or "propaganda by deed" in order to bring about the violent overthrow of the state and thus allow the establishment of "the collective autonomous commune" in its stead. In fact, shortly after Johann Most arrived in the United States from Germany in 1882, a direct-actionist press began to flower in this country. Although Benjamin Tucker, at that time the preeminent leader of American anarchists, supported and cooperated with the European group for a few years, he and the "Tuckerites" broke permanently away from them in 1886 as a result of the Haymarket tragedy in which Albert R. Parsons and several other directionists were involved. Nevertheless, since that date a "semantic smokescreen," to use Dr. Martin's terminology has enshrouded the term "anarchism" and has caused it to be associated in the popular mind invariably with violence and conspiracy. Dr. Martin deemphasizes the role played by Johann Most and the other communist anarchists in the history of American anarchism.

Men Against the State lacks fine polish from the literary standpoint. Sentence construction is frequently faulty. Now and then the same word or words embodying the same sounds are used at such close intervals as to interrupt the reader's train of thought. There is some redundancy, and a very few words are used which can not be found in Webster. Despite these criticisms, the book remains an excellent research contribution to the generally neglected field of American anarchist history.

University of Michigan

JAMES O. MORRIS

The Nightkeeper's Reports. By John H. Purves. Edited by Conrad Payne. (Jackson, State Prison of Southern Michigan, 1954. 143 p. Illustrations.)

This highly entertaining and revealing volume is the work of Southern Michigan Prison inmates at Jackson. Conrad Payne has edited the night reports written seventy-three years ago by John H. Purves, the prison nightkeeper. Through these reports conditions in the old state prison in 1882 come to life.

Purves wrote in a straight forward fashion of the antics of the prison inmates and contemporary penological theory. His comments reveal to an astonishing degree the cruel and often inhuman treatment afforded the prisoners. Back in 1882 prisoners wore uniforms with wide black and white stripes. Rigid discipline forbade prisoners conversing with each other, and magazines and newspapers were strictly forbidden. Smoking was taboo and only one letter a week was allowed. School attendance was compulsory, and most prisoners worked for concession contractors. For the most minor infractions of prison regulations the offender might be subject to suspension of writing privileges, whipping on the bare flesh with a leather bat, solitary confinement, or "hanging up." The last involved chaining the offender by his wrists at such a height that his feet did not touch the floor. Prisoners who were unruly during the night were "chalked in," that is, the nightkeeper made a chalk cross on the outside of their cells which meant that on the following day they would be subject to disciplinary action by the warden.

While the duties of the nightkeeper were frequently unpleasant, there were many humorous diversions. For example, one night No. 786 was ordered to leave the engine room where he worked. The convict refused, stating, "No one in this joint is going to get hefty with me, for this is my home and a man's home is his castle." Purves reported that the "lord of the manor" was placed in solitary confinement "to give him ample time to reflect on the fact that most castles also have dungeons."

On August 13 an unusual spectacle caught the attention of the nightkeeper. A cigar butt was tied to the back of a cockroach and this insect was laboriously transporting it down the aisle past an empty cell to an

occupant one cell removed from the sender. A long length of thread was used to guide the cockroach in the proper direction. Purves, who had seen many unusual things, was so amazed by this that he pretended not to notice.

One prisoner, Donaldson, No. 2108, was in the habit of saying his nightly prayers in a very loud voice at the approach of the nightkeeper. Donaldson always implored the powers to watch carefully over the nightkeeper. This was very flattering to Purves until he found out, quite by accident, that Donaldson spoke in such a loud voice to warn the other convicts of the nightkeeper's approach.

One night Purves received a note from prisoner No. 2296. It contained the request "to build air castles." Purves, to humor the man along, gave the necessary permission. He rightly suspected that the harsh rules and regulations were driving prisoners insane. This incident and others indicate that despite a hard attitude adopted by Purves, he did have a great deal of sympathy for the men, and strongly urged reforms that have long since been adopted by the prison. One fourteen year old inmate was becoming more hardened as time went on. Purves noted that what was needed was a separate place where youngsters could be kept so they would not meet and mingle with the older, tougher characters.

On August 20, the nightkeeper noted that convict No. 70 had informed him that "invisible hands were burning and tormenting him." Purves reflected philosophically: "We have operated under the theory that this is a prison. Be that as it may, the longer I walk these lonely galleries at night and watch the crack-pots and cranks in their weird and eccentric antics, the more convinced I do become that it is actually a lunatic asylum."

Not always were the inmates as "crazy" as they seemed. On December 4 Purves noted that a convict named Toombs was working on a project called "radiant energy" by which he hoped to prove that electricity and light travel in waves and that they are related. He asked Purves to give him a piece of crystal and some fine wire to make contact with these waves. Purves' response was to "chalk him," and leave word to have his head examined by the prison physician first thing in the morning. However, two days later Purves noted that he could not help thinking about the nonsense. "Can anything be more ridiculous than putting a wire contraption where it will catch air waves, or did Toombs say light waves, and on these alleged elements, hear a sound, let alone a human voice?"

The volume makes excellent reading and is a credit to those who prepared it. All readers will hope for a sequel.

Michigan Historical Commission

EUGENE T. PETERSEN

In Detroit, Courage was the Fashion: The contribution of women to the development of Detroit from 1701 to 1951. For the Women's Achievement Committee with assistance from The Kresge Foundation. By Alice Tarbell Crathern. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1953. 250 p. Illustrations, appendix. \$3.00.)

An interesting experiment, frankly described as an effort to fill in a gap in the social history of Detroit and Michigan, was undertaken by a group of Detroit women as part of the 250th anniversary celebration. As a result, *In Detroit, Courage was the Fashion* was published.

In explaining the purpose of the book, the author writes: "That women as well as men have played a part in Detroit's development is not always realized. In the many histories there is ample record of the great men who have left their imprint on Detroit. Two historians give over five hundred biographical accounts of Detroiters who have contributed to the building of their city. Five hundred men they list, worthy of honor, but not one woman. When one asks, 'What of the women?' the pages are silent. Taught by tradition that women's place is in the home and that history is made by men, Detroit historians have for the most part failed to note the gradual emergence of women into the business, professional, and industrial worlds. Nor have they seen that unofficially, but effectively, a woman's hand or voice lies behind many an important movement."

Dr. Crathern presents an overall picture of the contributions of women to the story of the growth of Detroit. It is, of course, a theme which modern women enjoy seeing developed, and the clear presentation of the factual picture, without embellishment, as made by the author does the job most effectively. The author has brought together in one place a general survey of the many fields in which women have made substantial contributions.

The weakness of the book lies in what appears to be an overemphasis on women's part. This shortcoming is readily understandable when one considers the manner in which the book was written. The author was commissioned to write the book and attempts to cover the whole story of women in Detroit in two hundred forty-six pages. It is almost inevitable that in some cases the book becomes encyclopedic. It results, too, in isolating women's work—taking it out of its context, so to speak—so that in certain chapters a true picture of the relationship of woman-kind to the whole story is missing. The author frankly recognizes the problem and attempts to overcome this shortcoming by what might be called separate essays entitled Introduction and Epilogue. The Introduction and Epilogue point out the great failure on the part of most historians to emphasize all phases of social history and present at the same time a challenge for greater utilization of the talents of women in public life.

The reader is intrigued by results of an arbitrary rule adopted by the author on recommendation of the advisory committee which assisted her. In accordance with this rule, the book does not name women who are active today, although their activities are discussed. This procedure of mentioning by name women of the past and in the same paragraph praising anonymously women of the present creates a certain artificiality. The effectiveness of some chapters, particularly the ones on Artists and Women in Business, is greatly reduced by application of this principle. The same rule was followed by Lola Jeffries Hanavan in the chapter written by her on Women in Public Affairs. Perhaps the two authors could be prevailed upon to write a follow-up article (with names) for *Michigan History* on outstanding women in Detroit today, so that their personal knowledge of them and the results of their research will not be lost.

On the whole the book accomplishes what the Women's Achievement Committee of Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival hoped to accomplish: the presentation of the history of women's place in the development of Detroit. The various organizations which underwrote the volume are to be commended for making publication possible.

Pontiac

ELIZABETH S. ADAMS

Anchor of Hope, The History of An American Denominational Institution, Hope College. By Preston J. Stegenga. (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954. 271 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

In this brief volume, which bears a Grand Rapids imprint and an introduction by President Irwin J. Lubbers, Preston J. Stegenga of the department of history and political science at Berea College provides the first regular history of his alma mater, Hope College. The title of the book is from a phrase much used by Albertus C. Van Raalte, the founder of the institution. The college also took its name from the phrase.

Dr. Stegenga opens his account with a somewhat extended narrative of the background of the large migration of Hollanders to this country in 1846 and just after, the founding of Holland in 1847, and the interest which the Reformed Church of the eastern states took in the little school soon set up at Holland. The latter became Hope College in 1866.

His story shows very clearly the overwhelmingly Dutch and Reformed-Church character of the institution. He tells us, for example, in a chapter entitled "Growth of a Varied Student Body", that as late as 1938-1939 Reformed Church students made up 80 per cent of the enrollment. As late as 1946, moreover, an instructor who was hired from the Netherlands to teach Dutch was discharged because his views did not accord with those of the sponsoring church. As Stegenga puts it: "Because of

these religious differences, denominational pressure quickly forced the teacher to be dismissed from the college staff." A survey of the graduates, indeed, down through 1928, showed that about 60 per cent had become ministers, missionaries, teachers of theology, or at least attended seminaries. Some of these, of course, were not of the Reformed denomination, since persons of other sects were admitted as undergraduates. The college still has daily chapel attendance.

For all this, the story is the typical one of the smaller institution of higher learning in America. It is an account of growth and evolution, of diversification in teaching programs, and of rising standards. It is also a story of coeducation—although this was allowed only reluctantly at first, there being only eight women graduates before 1900. Today, out of a student body of approximately one thousand, about one-third are women.

It is a story, above all, of a search for financial backing. For, despite its link with the general synod of the Reformed Church, the college has always had to attend to material factors at least as much as to spiritual. Thus, in the 1860's and 1870's it pinned its hopes upon investment in a fruit farm as a means of paying expenses, while in 1949 it unhappily mortgaged its entire plant to an insurance company in order to get a sizable loan (which is already being paid off). Denominational support has always been minor on a year-to-year basis, Dr. Stegenga shows. On the other hand, it has been of great importance upon special occasions. Taking the whole period into account, however, a reader would guess that the college has benefited by its church tie even more in its ability to keep a devoted faculty and to secure a steadily rising enrollment than it has in terms of endowment or annual gifts. In any case, Dr. Stegenga points out, Hope has done well, emerging as one of the best liberal arts colleges of its state. In sciences, like many other church-related institutions, it has particularly excelled, as two post-war surveys have shown. One of these indicated that in the training of men who later became graduate chemists it ranked, proportionately, eighth in the nation.

The shortcomings of the book arise chiefly from the fact that the author has made no discernible effort to make it interesting. Although he and both of his parents attended the college, and Dr. Lubbers terms him a third-generation Hope man, his chapter on "campus life" was written largely to show that that life was "integrated." There is not one anecdote of an amusing sort, not one reference to an eccentric professor—normally the pride and joy of "old grads" conversation—and there is hardly a trace of the color and zest of student doings. This is too bad. It is a pretty sober account—more unvaryingly so than a college with its generations of high-spirited youngsters deserves. Nor is there adequate treatment of the cultural achievements of the college, which no doubt have been extensive.

And yet, despite these faults and his book's lack of stylistic merit and its occasional grammatical awkwardness, Dr. Stegenga has done a worthwhile job. His book fills a need. And it has, undeniably, the solidly

useful character of the college of which it tells and of the sturdy people who have so long attended it.

Kalamazoo College

IVOR D. SPENCER

American Automobile Album. By William H. McCaughey. (E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., New York. 1954. 224 p. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

The story of America's automobiles has been told many times and in many ways, and most always it has been fascinating reading. Anyone over fifty years of age feels that he is part of this story, for it is almost certain that he can remember meeting one of the first of the early contraptions somewhere on a dusty, rutted country lane, surveying it from the safe distance of an oats field, one hundred feet off the road, while his father tried to calm down the rearing horses hitched to the family surrey.

American Automobile Album is an intriguing composite of the unique American saga we know as automobile history. For *American Automobile Album* treats its subject matter from a broad, all-encompassing viewpoint, which is quite an accomplishment for any writer.

William McCaughey, who spent several years putting the work together, reflects his varied experience as newspaper man, financial reporter and writer, public relations director for the Automobile Manufacturers Association, and now as an important executive in American Motors Corporation. As a world traveler and observer, as a student of history and economics, and as a down-to-earth business man he has given us in *American Automobile Album* a volume that interprets the economic and social history of our country at the same time that it traces the development of the automobile. In reading it you have the experience of looking backward much more clearly and seeing things now that you didn't comprehend when you saw them the first time.

You see in the automobile far more than a wonderful new kind of transportation that thrilled you as a young man. You follow it through its amazing history, and you get a new appreciation of its impact on the social and economic life of our country. But most important you get sheer enjoyment out of reading it, because it is written with a deft, light, modern touch, and its format is as inviting as a copy of *Life* magazine. Indeed, its 275 photographs, most of which have never been used before, provide exactly the right complement for the story itself. It's worth having for its pictures alone, but the story line is one you won't want to miss, for it presents a sixty-year sweep of exciting industrial history with a background of the evolution of America's manners, morals, dress, laws, highways, housing, sports, and warfare.

Detroit

REUBEN RYDING

Douglass Houghton: Michigan's Pioneer Geologist. By Edsel K. Rintala. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1954. viii, 119 p. Bibliography and index. \$3.00.)

One October evening in 1845 Douglass Houghton was drowned in Lake Superior off the shore of the Keweenaw Peninsula. He was only thirty-six years of age at the time, and more than a century has elapsed since his death. Yet his life and work are still remembered by the people of the Copper Country, and his name is perpetuated by a score of memorials throughout Michigan.

A native of Troy, New York, Houghton spent his formative years there and in Fredonia. As a youth he studied medicine, then explored the broader aspects of science at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. On the recommendation of the principal of Rensselaer, Houghton was invited to give a series of scientific lectures in Detroit. The success of these lectures, which were delivered in the winter and spring of 1830-31, prompted the young physician and scientist to reside permanently in Michigan.

During the fifteen years remaining to him, Houghton contributed substantially to the economic, political, and generally cultural welfare of the territory and new state of Michigan. He is best known, of course, for his achievements as the first state geologist of Michigan. Between 1837 and 1845 he conducted an exceedingly ambitious geological survey; when state funds ran low, he secured federal commitment to a joint geological and linear survey of the public lands in the state.

Soon after his arrival in Detroit in 1830, Houghton established himself as a leader among the young men of the town. In the 1840's he was chosen president of the Detroit Board of Education and mayor of Detroit and was a member of the University of Michigan faculty in nearby Ann Arbor. That Houghton was not lacking in business acumen is evident from his success in land speculation and from his election as president of the Michigan Insurance Company.

Mr. Rintala's brief biography will satisfy the general reader more than the specialist in geology and related fields. The author has relied almost entirely on local sources, and so much of Houghton's work was unfinished and eventually lost that on the evidence presented it is impossible to put his career as a geologist in proper perspective.

Mr. Rintala does make clear that, although handicapped by a small and frail physique, Houghton possessed an abundance of intelligence, imagination, industry, and personal charm, which he knew how to use. Moreover, he brought to the Michigan frontier a devotion to the practical aspects of science that the early inhabitants of the territory and state could readily appreciate.

Northern Michigan College of Education

RICHARD F. O'DELL

The History of the Detroit Historical Society. By Gracie B. Krum.
(Detroit, 1952. 182 p. Illustrations, appendix.)

Gracie B. Krum's history is a splendid record for the Detroit Historical Society to have. It covers the organization, struggles, accomplishments, heartbreaks, turning point in 1945, and solid achievements by 1952. The thirty-year period is told in chronicle style taken from the minutes and programs of each year. The chronicle runs to 153 pages, followed by an appendix of by-laws, successive officers, and list of addresses before the society.

The story begins with Clarence M. Burton, the founder and initiator of so much historical activity in Detroit. A collector of local historical materials, he had given his library and house to the city in 1914, which administered it as a branch of the Detroit Public Library. After the collection was removed to the new main building of the library early in 1921, the use of the collection and the preservation of other Detroit records suggested the need for a special organization. Accordingly, Messrs. Burton, Duffield, and Finn invited a dozen friends and Miss Krum, who was librarian of the Burton Historical Collection, to meet to consider creating a Detroit Historical Society. Thus it began. Miss Krum became secretary in 1924 and served until 1945.

The horizons of the organizers were intensive rather than extensive: "the object of the Society shall be to encourage historical study and research . . . to collect and preserve the materials of history and especially such as concern the history of Detroit." Steadily the objective was enlarged until in 1954 the revised article read: "to promote knowledge and appreciation of our local heritage among the citizens of Detroit and especially its school children; to foster and encourage the collection and preservation of historical materials; to stimulate historical study and research; to sponsor the observance and commemoration of occasions of historical significance; and to enable the people of Detroit and its vicinity by membership in the Society to identify themselves with the historical development of their community." Is it the widened scope that has made it the largest local historical society in the country? Or has the growth of the society prompted a broadened objective? I leave the answer to the reader.

The Society opened a museum in the Barlum Tower in 1928 and kept it open during the depression. A small grant was obtained from the city in 1938. When a benefactor offered the Society \$50,000 in 1943, contingent on the Society raising \$200,000, this seemingly impossible goal in war time was met in 1945. Meanwhile, the city board of education permitted removal of the museum to a Wayne University building. Under President George Stark, the Society was on its way! Municipal responsibility was accepted by the voters in 1945, a new museum and Society headquarters was started, and the present structure was opened in 1951. The Detroit Historical Society was over the hump and striding

forward. The private, semischolarly group has become a citywide, dynamic institution that every city envies. The achievement is astonishing, clearly implying dedication, persistence, and thankless effort.

Clements Library

HOWARD H. PECKHAM

The Rise and Fall of Methodism: A Source Book. Edited by Richard M. Cameron. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. XV, 397 p. Notes and Index. \$4.75.)

"John Wesley . . . is never at leisure," complained Samuel Johnson who loved to fold his legs and have out his talk. This restless intensity, so disquieting to the Doctor, was the genius of the Methodist revival and incidentally bred a body of literature whose bulk, even in published form, is forbidding to the generality of literate mankind. Professor Cameron has intended to compile a documentary record of Methodism's beginnings which a generation, busy with other concerns, will find digestible. Short extracts, the majority of them from various editions of John Wesley's writings, have been set in chronological order and woven into a kind of narrative by the editor's lucid commentaries and annotations. The excerpts, boxed into seven chapters which trace out divers phases of the Methodist uprising, break off about 1745 with the advent of formal organization and the elaboration of Methodist discipline.

Despite an evident anxiousness to judge kindly of Methodism's founders, the editor has been commendably objective in his selections. John Wesley, the hub of this documentary chronicle, emerges as a personality of expansive dimensions; yet his "heaven bound soul" is here freighted with enough egoism, pettiness, and indecision to make its flight somewhat erratic. Readers who are allergic to detailed theological expositions can safely expose themselves to the volume. While the historian cannot adequately recount the genesis of Methodism by a complete neglect of dogmatic discussion, Professor Cameron has relegated such matter to an auxiliary place. Nor has he thereby done an injustice to Methodist beginnings. "We have never . . . wasted much time . . . in adjusting our doctrinal views," opined one maker of the Methodist tradition. The talisman of Methodism's success rested not in neat distinctions or in the fine print of prayer books but "in that strange warming of the heart" which beat against the constrictions of ritual and creed.

On only a count or two might the editor be chided. The resolute viewing of the revival from the topside amply recognizes the contributions of the Wesleys and Whitefield but affords scant documentary illustration for the editor's own admission that Methodism won "its great victories" in the "hearts" of "the masses." Additional selections to magnify the impact of Methodism upon "the great crowd of nameless ones" would have yielded a better balanced account. Less excusable are the detours

into areas which have little besides an antiquarian value to recommend them. It may be granted, for instance, that John Wesley's unhappy romance with Sophia Hopkey is an "intrinsically appealing story of a heart in turmoil" without conceding that the affair deserves the dozen pages assigned to it here. However, these lapses are pleasantly infrequent and the finished product is a readable and reasonable account of Methodism's exhilarating springtime.

Michigan State College

RALPH MORROW

Hurley—Still No Angel. By Lewis C. Reimann. (Ann Arbor, Northwoods Publishers. 1954. 124 p. Illustrations. \$3.95.)

Hurley, Wisconsin, may be "Still No Angel" but the author of this skimpy little 124-page volume by that title, devotes precious few paragraphs to proving the point—if there is any point to the book. The sixteen chapters vary in length from three to eight pages (including full page pictures) and constitute a curiously disjointed series of essays. The longest chapter, entitled "Hurley Hates Edna Ferber," is made up entirely of a condensation of the novelist's 1934 book, *Come and Get It*. Next to it is a chapter on the panic of 1893. Other chapters deal with such disconnected subjects as John Dillinger's visit, "Sin in the Lush Twenties," a fire in 1901, the Hurley school system, and anecdotes about the "jacks" who came out of the woods to find fun in the rip-roaring vice-laden town on Wisconsin's northern border. Worse yet, many of the stories within the chapters are totally unrelated and the author many times does not favor the reader with even the suggestion of a transition phrase or sentence.

Finally on page 99 the author begins to compile his evidence that Hurley today, with its sixty-five taverns lining six blocks of famous Silver Street, is as bad as ever. Drinking after legal hours, prostitution, and gambling still flourish in answer to the demand of gullible tourists who have heard of Hurley's notorious reputation. Personal interviews by the author, newspaper accounts of vice raids, and a single letter from a Wisconsin law enforcement official constitute the evidence.

Besides the irrelevancy of it all, other weaknesses nettle the reader. Several typographical errors and a poor lithoprinting job mar the publication. At least four times the author misspells Waupun (p. 52, 54, 72, 83) and closing quotation marks are often missing, causing the reader to wonder who said what.

Hurley undoubtedly has a lively, sensuous, and exciting history. This sketchy group of anecdotes, however, did little to capture that history.

The book and the book jacket are both red. This appears to be the most significant and symbolic fact about the book.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

DON McNEIL

Detroit In Its World Setting: A 250-Year Chronology, 1701-1951.

Edited by Rae Elizabeth Rips. (Detroit: Detroit Public Library, 1953. iii, 311 p. \$2.25.)

A Chronicle of the Automotive Industry in America, 1893-1952.

(Detroit: Automobile Manufacturers Association of Detroit, n.d. iv, 68 p. Illustrations. Available on request to the Automobile Manufacturers Association.)

A Chronology of Michigan Aviation, 1834-1953. Edited by Robert

S. Ball. (Michigan Department of Aeronautics, Lansing, Inland Press, 1953. vi, 64 p. Illustrations, index of proper names. 50c.)

Very seldom does one read a chronology for pleasure alone. The chief value of such a work is for ready reference or for an easy compilation of facts to trace a particular trend or development. In the three chronologies here being reviewed there is an interesting array of facts and figures on the history of Detroit, the automotive industry, and aviation in Michigan which serve these purposes.

Detroit In Its World Setting is unusual since it does not place the history of Detroit in a vacuum, but it attempts to show it in relationship to the rest of the world. For this purpose each year is divided into four categories: (1) Detroit and Michigan; (2) World History; (3) Cultural Progress; and (4) Scientific and Commercial Progress. One might quarrel occasionally with what is included in each category, but it is the inalienable right of an editor to include those events which he considers of most importance. In general, Miss Rips has made a good and interesting selection of events for each year.

Only a few mistakes were discovered. Sir George Rooke captured and raised the English flag over Gibraltar on July 24, 1704, and not August 4. Ohio became a state in 1803 and not in 1802. In 1806 when the Governor and Judges received the ten thousand acre grant, the sufferers from the Great Fire were to be granted a lot not exceeding five thousand square feet rather than a lot not less than this amount. It is also surprising to read that Washington Irving's *Tales of a Traveller* (1824) and *Conquest of Granada* (1829) were widely read in 1822. The first railroad to run out of Chicago was not the Chicago and North Western Railway but the Galena and Chicago Union (1848). The C. and N.W. acquired this line at a later time.

There are a number of entries which are vague. Was the manufacture of mustard by Benjamin Jackson in 1768 the first such enterprise in the United States or in the world? Does the statement that Marietta, Ohio, was the first settlement in the Northwest Territory (1788) refer to the area in general or after the Territory was officially organized by Congress? After all, Detroit which is in the Northwest Territory had been founded

eighty-seven years before. Vincennes, Indiana; Cahokia, Illinois; and several other towns pre-dated Marietta. In 1800 when the Northwest Territory was divided to create the Territory of Indiana, does the statement that the territorial government was located at Chillicothe, Ohio, refer to the Northwest Territory or to Indiana Territory?

A few minor changes in classification of events or the repetition of them at a later date when they are listed earlier for various reasons might have improved the book. For example, the founding of the Chamber of Commerce of New York state in 1768 is followed by the statement that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States was not organized until 1912. Yet, in 1912 no mention of the latter is made. There is no heading "Detroit and Michigan" for 1794, but practically the same information given under "World History" for that year is repeated under "Detroit and Michigan" for 1795. Why include Tecumseh and the Battle of Tippecanoe under both "Detroit and Michigan" and "World History" in 1811? Under "Detroit and Michigan" in 1861 there is a notice regarding the establishment of a police force under the first police commission but it was ineffective during the draft and anti-Negro riots of 1863. In 1863, however, no mention is made of these riots.

The foregoing criticisms in no way detract from the value of this chronology. Miss Rips is to be congratulated on doing a most difficult task, and the book is certainly an interesting one.

A Chronicle of the Automotive Industry in America is a booklet filled with statistics and illustrations from 1893 to 1952. It is very handy for the date of appearance and discontinuance of all makes of cars, the formation of companies, the number of cars (passenger and trucks) produced each year, and other bits of automobile history. It was interesting to note that in 1948 the A.M.A. statistics disclosed that 48 per cent of the passenger cars then in use were over seven years old. Today, of course, a seven-year old car still in use is considered almost an antique.

It was also interesting to discover that during World War II, the automobile industry not only made tanks, scout cars, weapons carriers, automobile and aircraft engines, but also 87 per cent of the aircraft bombs, 85 per cent of the steel helmets, 56 per cent of the carbines, 47 per cent of the machine guns, 10 per cent of the completed aircraft, 10 per cent of the torpedoes, 10 per cent of the land mines, and 3 per cent of the marine mines. This shows how versatile the automobile industry can be.

By compiling the figures in the *Chronicle* one can get a pretty good picture of the development and trend of the automotive industry. For example, about the mid-1920's the number of new makes begins to decrease. In 1925, eighteen new makes appeared and by 1933 only one new car was put on the market. In 1936 there was none. In 1937, 1938, and 1939 only one new car for each year (American Bantam the successor to the American Austin, Mercury, and Crosley) were announced.

The year 1937, however, was the peak for passenger car production until 1949. The year 1948 about equalled that of 1937. The War, of course, halted production of civilian cars, but in 1946 twelve new cars were announced. Only Kaiser-Frazer, however, was in production at the end of the year. All-in-all it is an interesting and handy reference booklet, and each year is illustrated with a picture of one or two cars of that particular vintage.

Michigan Aviation is a record of aviation progress in Michigan, but prominent aviation events are excluded unless in some way related to the state. For example, there is no mention of the significance of Lindbergh's trans-Atlantic flight. It is included because parts of his plane were Michigan products. The entry reads: "1927-May 20—Charles A. Lindbergh uses AC spark plugs and Service Steel Co. tubing on non-stop solo flight from New York to Paris." From such information one who is not familiar with the importance of the event is likely to shrug his shoulders and say "So what?"

The *Chronology* begins with 1834 when B. C. Noble of Dexter proposed "an airship design using a conventional gas envelope and car with vanes providing the propulsion. . . . No records are available that this airship was built." The next entries are for 1858, 1873, 1875, 1880, 1891, 1892, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1902, and 1903. Beginning with 1906 there is something for each year through 1953.

Only a few minor mistakes were noted. There is an account of an airplane crash in Detroit during the Armistice Day celebration, November 11, 1917. Certainly it was intended that this should be for 1918 and is no doubt a printer's make-up error. In 1919, New York is spelled with a lower case "y". The *Outlook for Air Cargo Fresh Produce*, published by Wayne University Press in 1944, was a series of addresses given at the National Air Cargo Conference in Detroit of that year under the direction of Dr. Spencer A. Larsen, Director of Air Cargo Research. Stanley Oates was the editor of the published addresses. Dr. William Reitz was associated with Dr. Larsen in the publication of *Air Cargo Potential in Drugs and Pharmaceuticals* (Wayne University Press, 1946). Two other air cargo studies by Dr. Larsen which might have been mentioned were: *Air Cargo Potential in Fresh Fruits and Vegetables* in 1944, and *Markets for Airborne Seafoods* in 1948. Both of these, also, were published by the Wayne University Press.

Although Mr. Ball lists the establishment of an Air ROTC at the University of Michigan in September, 1946, he fails to mention such a unit was organized at Wayne University in June, 1947. Nor does he note that the University of Detroit also has an Air ROTC.

On the whole, however, this chronology is an interesting one, and as time goes on, revised editions bringing it up to date should be issued.

Wayne University

JOE L. NORRIS

Lumbermen's Legacy. By Curran N. Russell and Donna Degen Baer. (Manistee, Manistee County Historical Society, 1954. 67 p. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

Michigan produced some of the best white pine in lumber history. The state has such lumber streams as the Saginaw, Muskegon, Manistee, Pere Marquette, Betsie, Black, Thunder Bay, Au Sable, Au Gres, and Menominee. Any one of these streams has an interesting and colorful history. Curran N. Russell and Donna Degen Baer have added to the bibliography of the Manistee with sixty-seven pages of the *Lumbermen's Legacy*. The staged-pants, hobnailed-boots lumberjack on the cover was "the last work done by the late Henry W. Armstrong, who died in Manistee, February 18, 1954."

The booklet is particularly valuable for the pictures. It has a splendid selection of photographs of lumber operations, lumber kings, and lake vessels.

The log historian will find "pocket biographies" of R. G. Peters, John Canfield, Carrie Filer, James Dempsey, Charles Ruggles, T. J. Ramsdell, Louis Sands, Charles Rietz, John Rademaker. The Polish pioneers have their say in "John Smejkal's Story," and the French Canadians are heard in "Jim Carboneau's Story."

The authors are not afraid to criticize. The reader may enjoy page 24, on which nineteen lumber barons arranged alphabetically ("We play no favorites.") are evaluated in these categories: "sawed logs, gained a fortune, served the public, built for posterity, gave to charity, passed on." The authors show considerable knowledge of "round forties," wanigans, rollways, big wheels, and log jams.

Central Michigan College of Education

EARL C. BECK

THE NOVEMBER, 1954 ISSUE OF THE *Bulletin* of the Michigan Society of Architects has two articles of interest to the Michigan history-minded reader. One is "Michigan's Pioneer Architecture" by Howell Taylor, which is a reprint of the Taylor article that appeared in the March, 1953 issue of *Michigan History*. The second by Henry D. Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum, is a description of the *Historic Michigan* map done by Frank Barcus, who is an architect with the City Plan Commission of Detroit.

THE MICHIGAN STATE LIBRARY has issued a most helpful twenty-four page booklet listing "Michigan in Books: 1954." The books were chosen primarily to meet the needs of boys and girls in school, but, as the library points out, many of the books will be enjoyed by adults who wish to read about Michigan.

Thomas D. Brock is a research microbiologist at the Upjohn Company in Kalamazoo. He did his undergraduate work in science at Ohio State University. From the same institution he received in 1952 the degree of doctor of philosophy in microbiology. He is vice president of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society.

Frederick D. Williams received the B. A. degree from Middlebury College in 1947, the M. A. degree from the University of Connecticut in 1948, and the Ph.D. degree from Indiana University in 1953. From 1950-1954 he was an instructor in the history department of Wayne University, and he is now an assistant professor in the history department of Michigan State College. The fields of history in which he is specially interested are the American South and the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Mrs. Dorothy Bess Rich, contributor of the biography on Lillian Godfrey Gamwell, received the A.B. degree from Franklin College, and the M.A. from Michigan State College. Her masters thesis was "The Educational Situation in the Nineteenth Century as Revealed in the Victorian Novel." Mrs. Rich taught in Florence, Wisconsin, and for the past eleven years has taught English and journalism in the schools of Eaton Rapids. She is a member of the Michigan Authors' Association.

Mrs. Pearl McKeller Robinson is a teacher who retired in 1950. Since retiring she has been called often to tutor children and seems to be teaching again, only this time at home. She taught the first grade in Saginaw for a number of years. Mrs. Robinson has worked with interest in the Saginaw Teachers' Club and the Association for Childhood Education. She was president of the latter organization from 1932 to 1934 and chairman of Iota Chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma from 1949 to 1952.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals are \$3.00 per year; to libraries and institutions, \$5.00. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.